



## SUMMIT

*They all got together in Tokyo to solve the world's economic problems and settled for limiting their own oil imports*



Margaret  
Thatcher



Valerie  
Giscard d'Estaing



Giulio  
Andreotti



Jimmy  
Carter



Helmut  
Schmidt



Joe  
Clark



Masayoshi  
Ohira

PLUS

**SHUTDOWN III: Europe does better by its workers**

**Iran holds out for highest oil prices in OPEC**

**Does TV view businessmen as greedy reactionaries?**



# THE INSIDE STORY

DAVID MOBERG



...then someone told him you could run a car on chicken manure...

## Synthetic sop for a manufactured crisis

In a pinch, politicians prefer panaceas. So do lots of the rest of us. For those reasons, but for very few others, the Carter administration and Congress are rushing forward with proposals for crash development of synthetic fuels to replace the 8.1 million barrels of oil the U.S. imports daily.

"Synfuels" include liquids and gases derived from oil shale, tar sands, coal and biological stocks—either wastes or plants grown for fuel. The resulting crude oil equivalents could be fed into refineries. Methane of varying qualities could be pumped into pipelines. Alcohols (either ethanol, the alcohol some of us drink, or methanol) could be used as fuels or gasoline additives. There are a variety of technologies available now for producing all of these products. Some are moderately well understood and significantly cheaper than others, but none has been used on a mass scale.

All are still more expensive than oil, even after the latest OPEC price increase. Most offer little immediate relief from either high prices or long lines. Many are fraught with environmental problems.

The current industry estimate is that shale oil could be produced at \$20 to \$30 a barrel and that a high-quality crude oil from coal would cost in the range of \$35 to \$45 a barrel. Methanol from coal might cost \$30 to \$35 a barrel. Thus, if OPEC increases continue, some of the synfuels seem almost within reach but still terribly expensive—as much as double the cost of oil.

But these estimates are problematic. For the past decade, regardless of the growing price of oil, the industry has claimed that synthetics were available—at a slightly higher price than oil. In 1974, industry claimed that synfuels would be competitive when oil was \$8 to \$12 a barrel. A few years earlier the figure had been \$4 to \$5. Now, we've gone far beyond those figures and the mysteriously escalating cost of synfuels remains unexplained. "No one understands fully what's going on," a leading government synthetic fuel expert said.

Partly, he thinks, the companies are just making more sophisticated, realistic estimates now. The price may also reflect anticipated increasing environmental protection costs and higher interest rates to be paid on plants that will take longer to build.

Environmentalists and consumer energy advocates—such as the Environmental Policy Center, Friends of the Earth and Energy Action—maintain that devotion, at this point, to these increasingly expensive synthetic

fuels may actually worsen our energy crisis. If we are willing to pay \$35 to \$45 a barrel for synthetic oil, the argument goes, we are sending a signal to OPEC that we consider that price a reasonable one for fuel. Recent administration pronouncements—such as Council on Wage and Price Stability chairman Alfred Kahn's comment at an inflation conference last week—indicate that they believe the OPEC prices are fair representations of the "replacement price" of oil, and that we should be paying the "replacement price"—which, it seems, is being taken as the cost of synthetics.

Although it's safe to say that all new oil is going to cost more, nobody can say with certainty what the replacement price is. Consider for a moment what the replacement price might be in the unlikely event of discovery of a few new Mexican oil fields—or the drying up of presumed reserves. Energy analysts of varying political persuasions argue that we should pay a replacement price now in order to prepare for the future, but that often ignores the need for a non-disruptive, equitable transition that might be brought about by better means than the price system. It is questionable in any case whether the OPEC-cartel method of establishing oil prices really represents the hypothetical replacement price.

Most definitely, however, there are alternatives that represent a much lower replacement price than the synthetic fuels. Most of those involve conservation or increasing the useful work done with the fuels we have. Emphasis on conservation could dampen upward price pressures somewhat. Synfuels, by contrast, may actually buoy up prices. As the government synfuel expert said, "We could respond with conservation a lot more cheaply and a lot more quickly than with synfuels."

Tell that to Congress and see how far you get. The House of Representatives has overwhelmingly approved expenditure of up to \$3 billion to subsidize purchases of synfuels with the intent of raising production to the equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day by 1985 and to two million barrels of oil a day by 1990. But it would take probably 8 to 9 years under present conditions to get a plant producing only 50,000 barrels a day in operation at current costs of roughly 1.5 billion. To get a million barrels (half the Congressional goal) by 1995 (five years later) would require 20 plants at \$30 billion. But they couldn't even be built if we had the money because of bottlenecks in materials and skills. This is just a guess, in any case. "Look," the expert said, "nobody knows the price and nobody knows the time."

Consequently, nobody knows the real price of the bill now racing through Congress, but the Congressional Budget Office estimated the cost of a lesser bill at \$22 billion, and some opponents put the cost at \$60 billion.

The temptations of a resource like shale oil are great, since there may be 600 billion barrels of oil in the higher-grade deposits in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming (compared with estimates of 900 billion barrels of recoverable reserves in the Middle East). But there are problems with the extraction process that involve "cooling out" the waxy, dispersed kerogen in surface "retorts" or possibly in the ground. A 2 million barrel a day shale oil industry, John McCormick of the Environmental Policy Center testified before a Congressional committee, would require "4 to 6 million barrels of water per day in an area already facing problems with water shortages. If half that daily output were supplied by surface retort plants, almost 400 million tons of materials would have to be handled per year in the high-grade oil shale regions...not more than 16,000 square miles in size. With the existing State Implementation Plans for the Clean Air Act in Colorado, not more than 2 surface retort plants could be operated without violating the standards. Does anyone believe that 20 of those plants would be tolerated in that region?"

## Put a sugarbeet in your tank.

There is a simpler, cheaper, more immediate synfuel contribution to energy problems than the ones getting prime attention and funding. That involves producing ethyl alcohol to boost the octane of no-lead gasoline to meet the needs of the more fuel-efficient, high-compression engines mandated for the next few years.

The main problem in the current gasoline shortage—apart from oil industry manipulations of supplies and reserves (see *ITT*, May 30, 1979)—is a lack of no-lead gasoline, according to Barry Commoner's Center for the Biology of Natural Systems (CBNS). Over the last year, Commoner says, there has been a 1 percent surplus of leaded gasoline, but a 3.9 percent deficit of unleaded fuel. By the early 1990s, the oil industry is supposed to stop using lead to raise octane—a measure of the ease of combustion. The phase-out has already been slowed because construction of the secondary refining capacity that is needed for high-octane, no-lead gasoline has not kept up with the country's needs. Since gasoline use is expected to peak in a few years at 3 to 4 percent above present levels, according to CBNS research associate Rich Carlson, there is more need for octane boosters than for expanded crude or synthetic supplies.

Although ethanol has only about two-thirds the energy content of gasoline, its capacity to boost octane gives it additional value. Operating tests show 5 to 7 percent improvement in gas mileage with a 10 percent addition of alcohol to make "gasohol" as a result of more complete burning of fuel, Carlson says.

If all of the benefits are calculated—energy, octane boost, greater efficiency—then alcohol for gasohol would be a bargain at 85 cents a gallon (more as gasoline prices rise), Carlson argues. Now, he says, fuel-grade alcohol can be produced at around \$1 a gallon. New technologies and lowered requirements for fuel alcohol compared with drinking alcohol also assure that more energy is yielded by alcohol production than goes into making it, he says.

Researchers at CBNS have taken their project a step further to design an agricultural plan for the U.S. that could turn farmers into a sizeable net producer of energy. (They figure that the farms would yield a surplus of 6 "quads" of energy a year, about 8 percent of current U.S. consumption.)

By expanding the acreage under production and relying heavily on corn and sugar beets in a rotation system that includes hay and possibly other crops such as soybeans, farmers could produce significant quantities of alcohol from the corn and sugar beets and methane from manure and excess hay (also possibly from the residue after the alcohol distillation). They could then feed the very nutritious residue to animals. Leftover corn stalks could be fuel, along with solar heat, to process the alcohol.

A major investment in such biomass conversion could pay back the initial expenditure in 3 years for ethanol and 2.3 years for methane. By providing energy self-sufficiency on renewable resources for farms (not to mention the substantial surplus), such a plan could actually stabilize farm costs rather than drive up agricultural prices as single-purpose "energy farms" might.

Ethanol, like the other synfuels, is still an expensive alternative, but it has a number of advantages. An ethanol industry could be started up quickly. It could operate efficiently with small-scale producers (thus enhancing competition in the oligopolistic energy industry). Capital costs are comparatively low. Environmental problems would be less acute. And it's a renewable source of energy. Alcohol is getting a boost from Carter and from agricultural-state members of Congress, but in the synfuel stampede it may be swamped by the billions going into more questionable projects.

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# Big seven meet to cut oil use

The Tokyo meeting emphasized coal and shale oil, and then nuclear energy as an alternative to oil. Solar energy and new technology were ignored.

By David Fleishman

TOKYO

**C**ONFRONTED WITH IMPENDING crisis, the heads of the world's seven leading capitalist nations (U.S., Japan, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy) met for two days last week in Tokyo. Amidst calls for unity and determination, their attempt to postpone as long as possible a substantial restructuring of the global economy produced only a compromise agreement on limiting oil imports.

President Jimmy Carter bowed to Japan's rising economic power and met separately in Tokyo with Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi for three days prior to the summit. The two leaders tried to develop a joint approach to particular issues where differences between them and the four European countries were anticipated.

Pressing for their own advantage, the U.S. and Japan proposed limiting oil imports only until 1980, through a system of separate quotas for each importing country. The European Four, following guidelines established at an earlier Common Market summit in Strasbourg, demanded more meaningful, longer range restrictions and a more flexible shared import goal for the seven summit nations as a group.

Before approaching the difficult business at hand, all seven leaders quickly agreed to condemn "the tragic plight of refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia," as a threat to peace and stability in Asia. The seven summiteers called on the three Indochinese nations to "take urgent measures to see that human hardships and suffering are eliminated," ignoring their own 20-year effort to completely destroy Indochina's ability to feed itself and former president Nixon's pledge of reconstruction aid.

When the summit finally got down to business, the only question dealt with substantively was oil import limitations. There was no serious approach to the current daily global shortfall of 2 million barrels of oil, to restructuring domestic economies for more energy efficiency and productivity, to north-south relations, or to currency and trade issues.

The two summit heavies, Japan and the U.S., accepted the European Economic Community's desire for longer-range limitations, through 1985. Also, the EEC was allowed to set its import goal as a bloc, with each country's quota worked out at a special EEC forum. However, the Europeans were forced to pledge no increase of oil imports over their 1978 levels, between now and 1985.

Canada, facing a decline in domestic production, was permitted a 1 percent annual rise in its imports. The U.S. will be allowed to return to its 1977 import



French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (left) and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt talking before the Tokyo economic summit meeting began.

level, the highest of the last four years, while Japan will, by 1985, be importing 30 percent more oil than in 1979.

Alternatives to oil importation proposed in the summit's Tokyo declaration emphasize the U.S. focus on coal and shale oil, with a warning about the associated pollution problems. Later, a document presenting the Japanese government's view declared that, "without the expansion of nuclear generating capacity...economic growth and full employment will be hard to achieve." There is no mention of solar energy, and only one vague reference to "new technologies."

Regarding the growing demands of the

poorer developing nations for a new economic order, the second major summit issue, the declaration stresses the importance of north-south cooperation and concludes that a "good investment climate in developing countries will help the flow of foreign investment."

Economic writers for Japan's leading daily, *Asahi Shimbun*, believe that the summit's limited success in agreeing to slow the increase in oil imports may, at best, delay protectionist moves by each industrialized nation. But they predict that the summit's lack of serious attention to domestic measures may lead to even tougher OPEC demands. Another result

may be stronger anti-inflation policies at home in the industrial countries and a slowdown of their economies. This, in turn, would cause higher unemployment and greater social unrest.

When Japanese economists look at Jimmy Carter's dismal failure to enact his 1978 energy legislation in the country that has only 26 percent of the industrial west's population but accounts for 70 percent of its annual oil consumption, they see a gloomy omen for the future. The Tokyo summit came up with only a set of voluntary guidelines, which now must be implemented at home if they are to have any meaning at all. ■

## Police turn out for summit

Tokyo was under occupation by more troops during the summit than when American GI's patrolled the streets and General Douglas A. MacArthur tried to recreate Japan in his own image. The overwhelming security measures in Tokyo contrasted sharply with the last summit, held in West Germany, where political terrorism was becoming almost a weekly event, and Bonn police took no more than the usual precautions.

In Tokyo, over 400,000 special riot police were mobilized to ensure that "the Japanese people would not be embarrassed" by uninvited guests. Government officials pointed out that Japan's radical leftist Red Army had not been heard from for years, a clear indication that trouble was brewing somewhere.

In response to this unseen threat, police required everyone living or working in downtown Tokyo to provide their name, address, phone number and photograph for a special pass to enter their places of business or homes. Churches in the area were called on to cancel all activities for the duration, to prevent undesirables from hiding in their midst.

All interchanges along the 250-mile Tokyo-Osaka freeway became check-points visited by plainclothes policemen, disrupting work and threatening reprisals for any disturbances during the summit. Foreigners arriving at Tokyo's new Narita Airport received courtesy calls from plainclothes security agents wherever they were staying the following day and questioned about their intended activities. *ITT's* correspondent was stopped on the street in Kyoto, over 200 miles from Tokyo, and searched by plainclothes police in honor of the summit.

During the summit itself, all traffic was banned from freeways within several miles of the appointed hotels, embassies, and meeting halls. Downtown office workers and residents, in addition to needing a pass, were allowed to enter or exit their buildings only once in the morning and once in the evening. All of this was accompanied by lavish media coverage of the pomp and circumstance of a world summit.

In Japan, where civil liberties were virtually unknown until they were imposed by MacArthur in 1945, there was

hardly any protest against the intrusion of questionable security measures into the lives of millions of citizens. While *Asahi Shimbun* likened the situation to that of Seoul before the imposition of martial law there, the only organized objection was a cry for compensation from downtown merchants whose stores were nearly inaccessible for two weeks.

Privately, however, many Japanese voiced a concern about the apparent over-reaction of the police establishment. One Tokyo taxi driver explained that since the end of the Narita Airport protests, the riot police have had nothing to do and needed to fabricate the summit more serious note, a staff member of the National Christian Council of Japan told *ITT* that the activation of 400,000 riot police, the curfew, and widespread identity checks may all be part of a dry run to test how far the government can go with such controls in the future. He pointed out that Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic party is essentially the same group of men who launched World War II in the Pacific and stridently suppressed all dissent. ■



# IN SHORT



## Brown pledges to stop Diablo Canyon plant

**SAN LUIS OBISPO, CAL.**—The largest anti-nuclear rally in California history was staged last weekend as part of a growing movement to prevent the licensing of the controversial Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. An estimated 40,000 people jammed Highway 101 en route to the rally site at San Luis Obispo's National Guard headquarters, where the surprise speaker of the day was Governor Jerry Brown.

Brown decided just hours before the

demonstration to pledge to do everything in his power to stop the nuclear plant from operating. He gave no specifics, but this was his strongest anti-Diablo statement. Despite the fact that Brown had been booed at the May 6 Washington, D.C., demonstration for his waffling on nuclear energy in California, the governor received tumultuous applause.

Some 30 speakers and entertainers faced a crowd primarily from the area between San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara. It was a young group, but with a Southern California twist. Styrofoam beer chests abounded. Throughout much of the day, bronzed youths lounged in the sun on blankets and lawn chairs, languidly taking in the music and speeches.

Most participants were incensed about the idea of living alongside a nuclear reactor just two and a half miles from an active earthquake fault. One local man told *In These Times* that he and a number of his friends were asked by Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E), which owns the facility, to work at Diablo Canyon. They all refused.

"Before Three Mile Island," said Meg Simonds of the SLO Abalone Alliance, "most of these people were closet anti-nukers." Last year 5,000 people showed up at the Diablo Canyon demonstration.

The reactor is already completely constructed, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) decision on its licensing is not expected until early next year, pending a report on the Three Mile Island accident. For six of the 12 years that Diablo Canyon has been in the offing, the NRC and PG&E have been pushing the U.S. Geological Survey to approve the structure for seismic activity. USGS asked for structural changes, some of which PG&E made. But engineers point out that the Hogri fault offshore is capable of an earthquake three times greater than the plant is designed to withstand.

—Elaine Herscher

## Environmentalists halt Nuke Plant

**CHARLESTOWN, RHODE ISLAND**—Anti-nuclear activists won a major victory in Rhode Island last week (June 20), when the federal General Services Administration (GSA) denied a utility the surplus federal land it sought for a nuclear power plant site. The ruling climaxes a decade-long struggle between environmental groups and the New England Power Co. (NEPCO), and has probably ended any chance of a nuke being built here.

NEPCO fought hard but became mired in its own mistakes. It went looking for an ocean site after the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) adopted a policy that precluded the utility's first site on Narragansett Bay. With secret state encouragement, the firm quietly set its sights on an unused naval airstrip adjoining a federal wildlife preserve on the Atlantic Ocean.

The Nixon-run GSA sold the Charlestown site to NEPCO in 1974, apparently violating agency rules. Environmentalists promptly sued, the sale was voided a year later and the GSA was ordered to invite applications from any group interested in obtaining the land.

The fight began to escalate NEPCO launched a public relations campaign while business and labor groups issued ringing endorsements. The state development agency voted to float \$400 million in tax-exempt bonds for the plant's anti-pollution equipment, but environmentalists sued and defeated it.

They knew the value of delay: many legal twists and environmental studies have stemmed from the suit filed in 1974. Meantime, the nuke fell more than four years behind schedule and its cost climbed from \$1.6 billion to nearly \$3 billion. Also, the federal agencies involved in this case are no longer run by Nixon-Ford appointees.

The coup de grace was Three Mile Is-

land: State officials began changing their tune and soon NEPCO suspended its license efforts, after having spent \$30 million on the project. A week later the GSA divided the land among the town of Charlestown, the EPA and the federal Fish and Wildlife Service.

NEPCO will appeal, but it seems very likely that nuclear power in Rhode Island has been dealt a blow from which it will never recover.

—Bill Solomon

## Alabama prisoner commits suicide

**HOLMAN STATION, ALA.**—On June 17, 1979, John Hannett, a prisoner in the Segregated Unit of the Holman Prison in Alabama committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell because he was "driven from the rim of sanity by guard brutality, fear and unbearable prison conditions," according to Reverend Lee H. Ball, Alabama advocate of prison reform.

Ball called for a full investigation of Hannett's death and removal of prison guards guilty of beating inmates before more men are driven to suicide.

Alabama's prison system, often criticized for its inhumane conditions and already under a massive three-year-old federal court reform order is the same system in which John Louis Evans is awaiting execution.

Evans, rather than tolerate the prison's conditions told his attorneys to halt their efforts to stay his execution so that he could die.

—Laura Cianci

## Electrical workers get 30 percent increase

**NEW YORK**—Delegates from the International Union of Electrical Workers have approved a new three-year contract with General Electric Co. covering that company's 120,000 workers. The contract, which is expected to set the standards for other negotiations in the elec-

tronics industry, contained several significant improvements, including substantial wage increases, a dental care program, reduced retirement age (from 62 to 60) and increased pensions.

The Wage and Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA) increases of \$2 an hour represent a 30 percent pay increase over the life of the contract. Union negotiators won a .2 percent pay adjustment for every point the cost of living rises, to be paid twice a year. In addition, the new COLA provision eliminates inflation caps and corridors (gaps in coverage) of the old contract that allowed workers' real income to decline.

IUE officials estimate that the new contract's wage and benefits package

worked out to a 40 percent increase over the previous pact period. However, they are not making a big play over this accomplishment, which far exceeds the Carter wage guidelines.

"We don't want to wave any red flags in front of the government," said one union official. "If Carter wants to check the percentage, he can."

The second major round of contract talks in the electronics industry are under way at Westinghouse, where agreements covering 35,000 workers expired July 15. Negotiators with the 13-union industry-wide coordinated bargaining committee say chances for a strike there are more likely as management may well reject the GE-style terms.

—Josh Martin

## POLITICKING

• Last April 10, Santa Monica, Ca. voters passed a strict rent control initiative. (ITT, April 18) In a June 26 election to select a five-person rent control board, three men and two women representing Santa Monicans for Renters Rights, the coalition that sponsored the initiative, won all the seats. They defeated a slate put up by the Santa Monica Civic Union and the Apartment Association. Commenting on the clean sweep, former Apartment Association president John Jureka said, "the inmates are running the institution."

• Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) was thrown for a loop last year when Republicans captured the governorship and both Senate seats and went from a 104-30 seat disadvantage in the State House to a 67-67 tie. In December, an abortive attempt was made to unseat DFL co-chairs Rick Scott and Claire Rumpel. But two by-elections June 19 showed that the DFL was back on its feet. In a heavily contested race, DFL candidate Frank Rodriguez won a St. Paul State House seat and gave the DFL a

majority. Rodriguez was the first Hispanic to win office in Minnesota. And DFL candidate Irving Stern took a State Senate seat in a normally Republican district.

• The California Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) is pushing ahead with its plans for a national tour in the fall. The tour will promote economic democracy as the basis for a Democratic platform in 1980, but tour organizer Stephen Rivers acknowledged that its thrust will be "de facto anti-Carter." Speakers on the tour will include CED chair Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Farmworker president Cesar Chavez, Machinist head William Winpisinger, NOW president Elie Smeal, Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, and Berkeley U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums. The tour is scheduled to kick off Sept. 23 in New York City and to end in Los Angeles on Oct. 25.

• The Democratic Agenda, which helped lead the opposition to Carter at the mid-term convention of the Democratic Party in Memphis last December, is planning a pre-1980 conference for Washington on November 16, 17, and 18. The conference will undoubtedly attract many of those left Democrats seeking to draft Teddy or to encourage some other liberal alternative to Carter.

—John Judis



# IN THE NATION

## INFLATION

By David Moberg

**T**HE DISTINCTIVE DILEMMA OF the U.S. economy in this decade has been the unexpected persistence of simultaneous high unemployment and high inflation—"stagflation," as some economists dub it. We are now entering a period when both horns of that dilemma will be getting larger and more threatening.

Already in the first five months of this year, inflation has been running at a higher rate than at any time since the end of World War II, except for the brief period when wartime price controls were lifted. In these first five months, the government announced the annual rate had been 13.4 percent, roughly double what the Carter administration had forecast.

Then, a few days after that bad news hit, the OPEC nations boosted the price of oil again. Energy costs already had been the major force driving the price level upwards. Now Carter claims that the new increases will add 2 to 2.5 percent to the inflation rate. Other government economists put the figure closer to 1 percent, estimating that the extra cost for oil imports will be around \$6 billion a year. OPEC increases also push up prices for about one-third of U.S. oil that already is free of price controls.

But the problem will not be simply paying the gasoline bill—which has jumped 55 percent so far this year—nor paying for fuel oil to heat homes—again at an anticipated 50 percent or more price increase over last year. There may also be problems with getting enough of either one, although Saudi Arabia has said it will increase its production by 1 million barrels a day, enough to take the tightness out of the world market if Libya doesn't follow through on its threats to cut off all production.

The price increases—and the shortages or disruptions—will also intensify the recession that we're already entering, according to most economists. Carter conveniently seized on the OPEC increase as a scapegoat for the coming recession, and announced that the price hike could cost the U.S. 800,000 jobs (although other government economists have put the figure closer to 250,000). What was seen as a possibly mild recession now looks more serious and the Administration suddenly began discussing stimulative tax cuts for next year.

Outgoing director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability Barry Bosworth gave little reason to be hopeful on prices. "You can't look for any significant moderation of inflation in the next few months," he told the Joint Economic Committee, adding that even a serious recession wouldn't relieve the inflationary surge because the price would be too high.



Ralph Nader wants consumers to strike against high prices for energy, food, housing and health care. COIN offers reforms in each sector.

## Dollar worth less, COIN strikes back

Many of the causes of this distinctive, difficult inflation are resistant to the traditional means of fighting rising prices, such as budget cuts, restrained growth of money supply, recession and general dampening of demand.

There are many reasons for the current problems, one of them being the increasing influence of monopoly or oligopoly pricing (which includes the oil industry). Also, instabilities associated with the business cycle and long-range uncertainty are boosting the price level. For example, last week Sec. of Labor Ray Marshall said construction costs could be cut by \$5.7 billion a year within a year if employment were stable.

The effects of the current inflation are also different than they have been in the past. Until the early 70s, lower income people generally benefitted slightly from inflation, especially since it was usually associated with higher employment. But since 1972, inflation has hurt lower-income people. Further, increasing inflation has

been accompanied by a slower decline in unemployment than in the past.

Average spendable weekly earnings of nonsupervisory workers dropped from a high point in 1972 of \$96.64 (in 1967 dollars) to \$89.58 in April 1979. In the six months that ended in April, workers lost ground at an annual rate of 5.5 percent.

Inflation has become an issue for the left since even working people see it as their major problem (and according to a survey by sociologist David Caplovitz the worries grow as income declines). Some rich people still lose in inflationary times, although the figures on this are hotly debated among economists of all political stripes, but for the first time inflation is a concern for those who represent working people and the poor and want to find cures that will not mean further sacrifices for their constituency through traditional recession "discipline" of the economy.

Consumers Opposed to Inflation in

the Necessities (COIN) has taken the lead in presenting a program for combating inflation on the political front that reflects leftist thinking. (See *Inside Story*, 177 June 27 for an interview with COIN's Gar Alperovitz on the causes and cures of inflation.) It has already won wide labor support, plus backing from consumer groups of various sorts. Only a year ago, the president of one major union said inflation wasn't something workers and unions should worry about. All they needed to do, he said, was bargain for higher wages and better cost-of-living protection. Today, he is a leader of COIN.

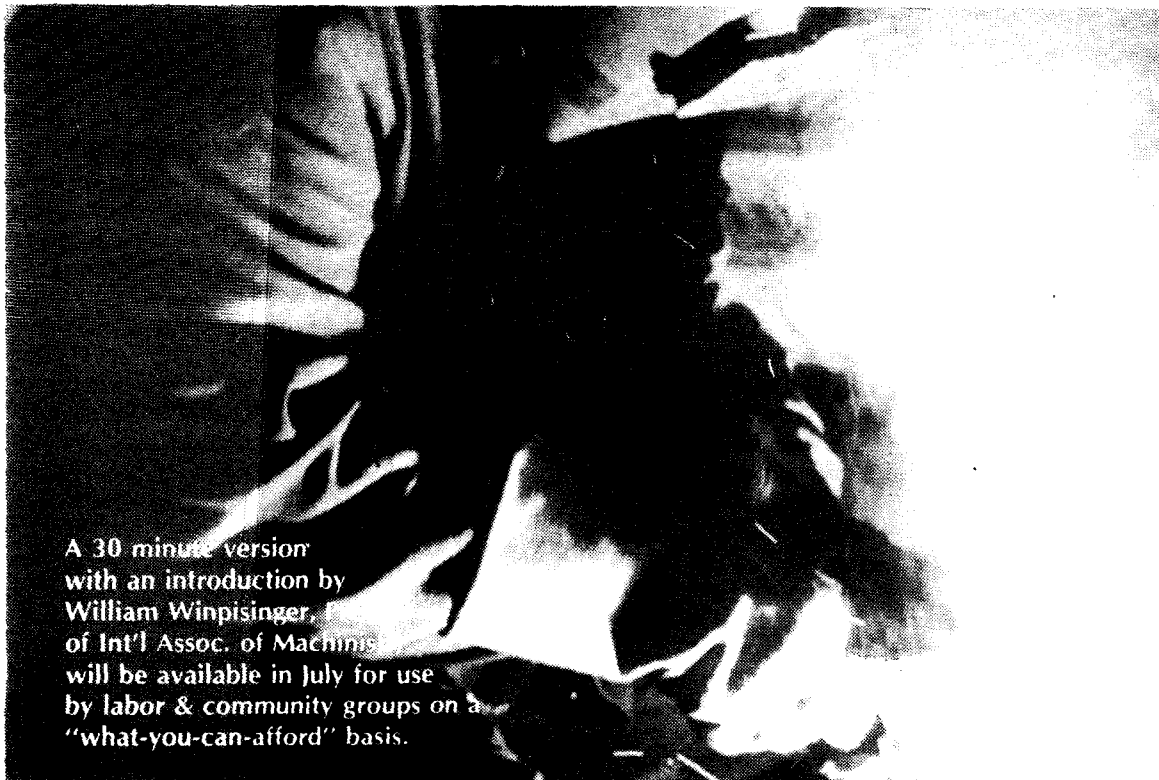
COIN unveiled its latest proposals for fighting inflation at a one-day teach-in in Washington on June 27 that drew about 400 people plus a couple thousand senior citizens from the coalition who were holding their convention at the same time. Its thick booklet—"There Are Alternatives"—describes a range of proposals for reorganizing the economy in the critical areas of energy, housing, food and medical care, where inflation has, over the past few years, tended to run at higher rates than for the rest of the economy.

Yet, as Ralph Nader told the teach-in, proposals aren't enough: "What is necessary is to see it as a power struggle." Nader called for a nationwide "consumer strike," probably in September, to protest high prices by refraining from buying anything for one day. Earlier Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, pledged to call a brief work stoppage of all his union's members. They would use that time, he said, to write letters to Carter and Congress to protest higher energy prices, gasoline shortages and excessive oil company profits.

Nader struck the basic theme of the conference, in saying that it was "time for structural reform. It's got to be done by recognizing that productivity, innovation, competition and elevation of human values over commercial values in this country do not flow from General Electric, General Motors, General Foods or other giant corporations." He added later that "we have to build our own economy under our control as consumers with the ultimate goal of a decent standard of living for all and with time to enjoy non-mercantile values as they shape our lives."

Carter's top inflation advisor, Alfred Kahn, was lured into the generally hostile teach-in. Attempting to disarm his audience with his famous self-deprecatory wit and with acknowledgement of the wisdom of many of COIN's proposals, Kahn nevertheless sharply divided with COIN on certain key issues. Excessive demand is a large part of the problem, he maintained, and restraining such demand and

Continued on page 6.



A 30 minute version with an introduction by William Winpisinger, of Int'l Assoc. of Machine will be available in July for use by labor & community groups on a "what-you-can-afford" basis.

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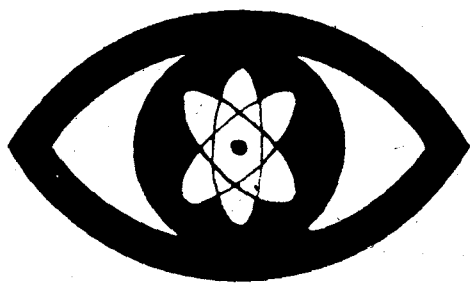
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## NUKEWATCH

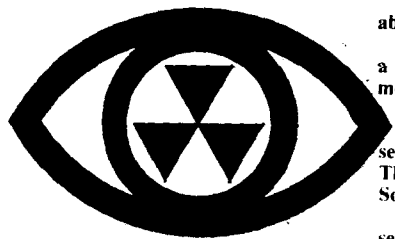


### NUKEWATCH PARTICIPANTS

Bright Morning Star	Howard Morland
Barry Commoner	Ada Sanchez
David Dellinger	Pete Seeger
Barbara Ehrenreich	John Trudel
John Henry Faulk	Nicholas Von Hoffman
Morton Halperin	George Wald
Erwin Knoll	Donna Warnock
Doug LaFollette	Harvey Wasserman
Sidney Lens	and many others.

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## Ungag The Progressive.

## COIN

Continued from page 5.

workers' wages is essential to fighting inflation.

"Double-digit inflation is caused by an imbalance between demand and supply," he said. "Any attempt by labor to compensate to maintain their real ability to command food, or medical care, or gasoline, and to buy new housing can only aggravate the imbalance and make inflation in the necessities worse than ever," he said. Essentially, it was a call for workers to take a reduced standard of living in order to curb prices.

COIN, on the other hand, believes that the government can act to reorganize production in different sectors of the economy to expand supply and to reduce prices, especially for the lower income ranks. With these structural reforms, they argue, inflation can be controlled without either curbing overall demand, inducing recession or cutting standards of living. Without these structural changes, it would take a catastrophic change downwards in the economy to have much effect on the current causes of inflation and even then basic problems would not be addressed.

A sample of COIN proposals in each of its four "necessities" areas gives a sense of their alternative approach ("There Are Alternatives" is available from COIN, 2000 P St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036):

- **Energy.** Continue oil price controls. Reimpose price controls on petroleum products. Promote renewable energy sources and conservation. Establish a federal government agency to import oil, taking the power out of the hands of the majors and encouraging more aggressive bidding. Use antitrust laws to make the oil industry more competitive and to keep energy sources competitive, rather than allow the energy conglomerates to control all sources. Improve auto efficiency standards and develop mass transit. Promote co-generation of heat and electricity. Establish a federal oil and gas corpora-

tion to explore, develop and market oil and gas from public lands, currently representing over 50 percent of U.S. reserves.

- **Food.** In the short run, reduce price supports for milk and sugar. Increase imports of beef and continue winter imports of Mexican vegetables. Reform the agriculture department marketing order arrangements. Encourage co-ops. Arrange temporary anti-inflation food rebates.

In the long run, restore competition to food production, processing and retailing, protect the family farm (generally more efficient producers), stabilize domestic food and feed grain prices through government management of supplies for export and a farm incomes policy.

(Farmer representatives at the teach-in were angry with some of the short-run proposals, arguing that they would undermine the real need for farm price and income stability.)

- **Housing.** Set lower mortgage rates for low- and moderate-income housing, higher rates for luxury housing. Institute selective credit controls. Subsidize more moderate-income housing. Eliminate the federal income tax deduction for mortgage interest and property taxes. Encourage co-ops, tenant organizations and, in some cases, rent controls.

- **Health care.** Establish national health insurance. Promote health maintenance organizations. Reduce environmental threats to health. Encourage use of generic drugs and less surgery, shorter hospital stays.

Although deliberately moderate in many cases in order to seem legislatively feasible, the COIN proposals represent an attempt to provide a left political response to inflation. They also point toward more public intervention in the regulation of the economy toward providing basic social needs in an equitable way. Expanded social control of investment and production, the COIN argument implicitly runs, is the only way to stop inflation without hurting workers.

Organized labor and the consumer movement seems united behind such a perspective now. Will they stick to the same course when it comes to even stronger proposals—such as nationalization of the energy industry?

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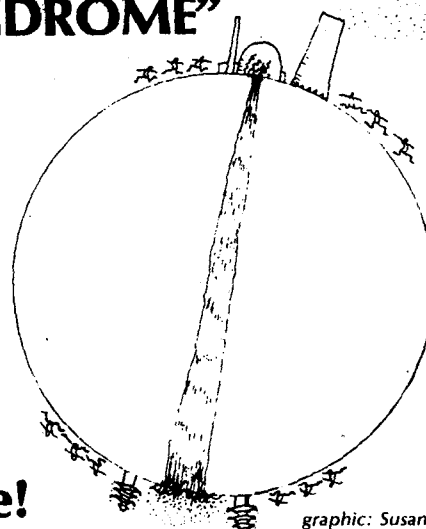
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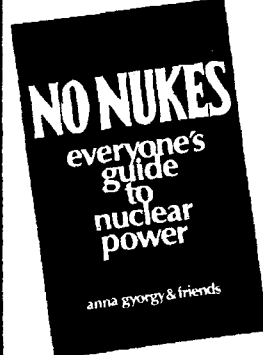
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## IN THE WORLD

## Workers have more control in Europe

Searching for ways to counter the hardships brought on by factory shutdowns, many community and labor activists in the U.S. have been turning to Europe for ideas. There are two different approaches that complement each other: (1) legislation that enforces some consideration of community and worker needs on capitalist decision-making, and (2) direct worker action to develop a number of proposals for production that uses their skills, satisfies important social needs, safeguards the environment, and guarantees security of employment.

Lithuania, for example, has progress in the U.S. as its reports indicate, European efforts in the labor movement still find these tools inadequate to the complex task that ultimately requires social control of production.

Alan Graubard, a free-lance writer in Berkeley, works with *Management*, which produced and now distributes a film about the Lucas effort—*WE'VE ALWAYS DONE IT THIS WAY*. Sheldon Friedman, an economist in the research department of the United Auto Workers, took part in an investigation of European plant closing legislation last year by the UAW, the Machinists and the Steelworkers. The report of that visit, *ECONOMIC DISLOCATION*, is available from the three unions.

By Sheldon Friedman

**W**HEN THE SWEDISH conglomerate, Stora Kopparberg, decided to shut down a 400-employee steel mill in Vikmanshyttan, an iron center since the 15th century, the Swedish government stepped in. The closing was delayed and nine new enterprises were brought into town (many in the converted steel facilities). During the transition, all the workers were either kept on the payroll while the plant was converted, were retrained, or were paid their previous wages while constructing public works for the county.

Local union people still thought the mill closing was unjustified, but at least the community economic base was secure, jobs were provided and nobody suffered loss of income during the transition—or in their new jobs.

Government intervention to control or ease the effects of plant closings has become well established in much of Europe, but only now is such a demand being taken seriously by the media and liberal politicians in the U.S. Much as the country "discovered" poverty in the early 60s, it is now "discovering" the problem of economic dislocation.

The early and virulent business reaction to these proposals—such as a *Wall Street Journal* editorial comparing the mild legislation proposed in Ohio to the Soviet Union's "exit tax"—reveals a corporate Achilles heel. But even the *Journal* had to admit that some obligation is owed to the workers and community left behind.

The various proposed measures in the U.S. impose some important but minimal conditions on corporate shutdowns and provide modest worker and community protection, but none would challenge corporate decision-making authority. Yet corporations fear the principles established, and as the debate unfolds, socialists surely will raise key issues of public vs. private economic planning.

While the capitalist nations of Western Europe—way ahead of the U.S.—demonstrate the possibility of substantial reform not yet realized here, they also show how a thorough-going transformation of the social and economic system is needed to solve the problem.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Whenever there is a plant closing or other "mass redundancy" in Great Brit-

ain, the employer must give advance notice of 60 to 90 days to the Department of Employment and to affected trade unions, including information relevant to negotiations with the union over alternatives to dismissal. The Department of Employment also enters talks about possible loan repayments, re-equipment of the business or a temporary wage subsidy to tide over a shaky but viable business. Government-sponsored retraining has also grown rapidly, from 15,000 people in 1971 to 100,000 last year. Also, a National Enterprise Board—embodying a classically socialist concept—was established in 1975 to finance alternative employment with government ownership and control of the business.

The Redundancy Payments Act also guarantees workers with two or more years of service a lump-sum separation benefit of 1½ weeks pay for each year of service, in addition to regular unemployment benefits, most at the expense of the employer. Unions also negotiate additional severance pay, especially with public employers and larger private companies.

Historically, British workers and their

unions have vigorously fought mass dismissals and plant closings. Lately, with offers of hefty redundancy pay, many workers' resolve to fight shutdowns has been crumbling. Militant shop stewards object, arguing that "the jobs aren't ours to sell." Unions are thus being pressured to resist shutdowns and layoffs more directly, rather than accept readjustment in a "statesmanlike" way.

## WEST GERMANY

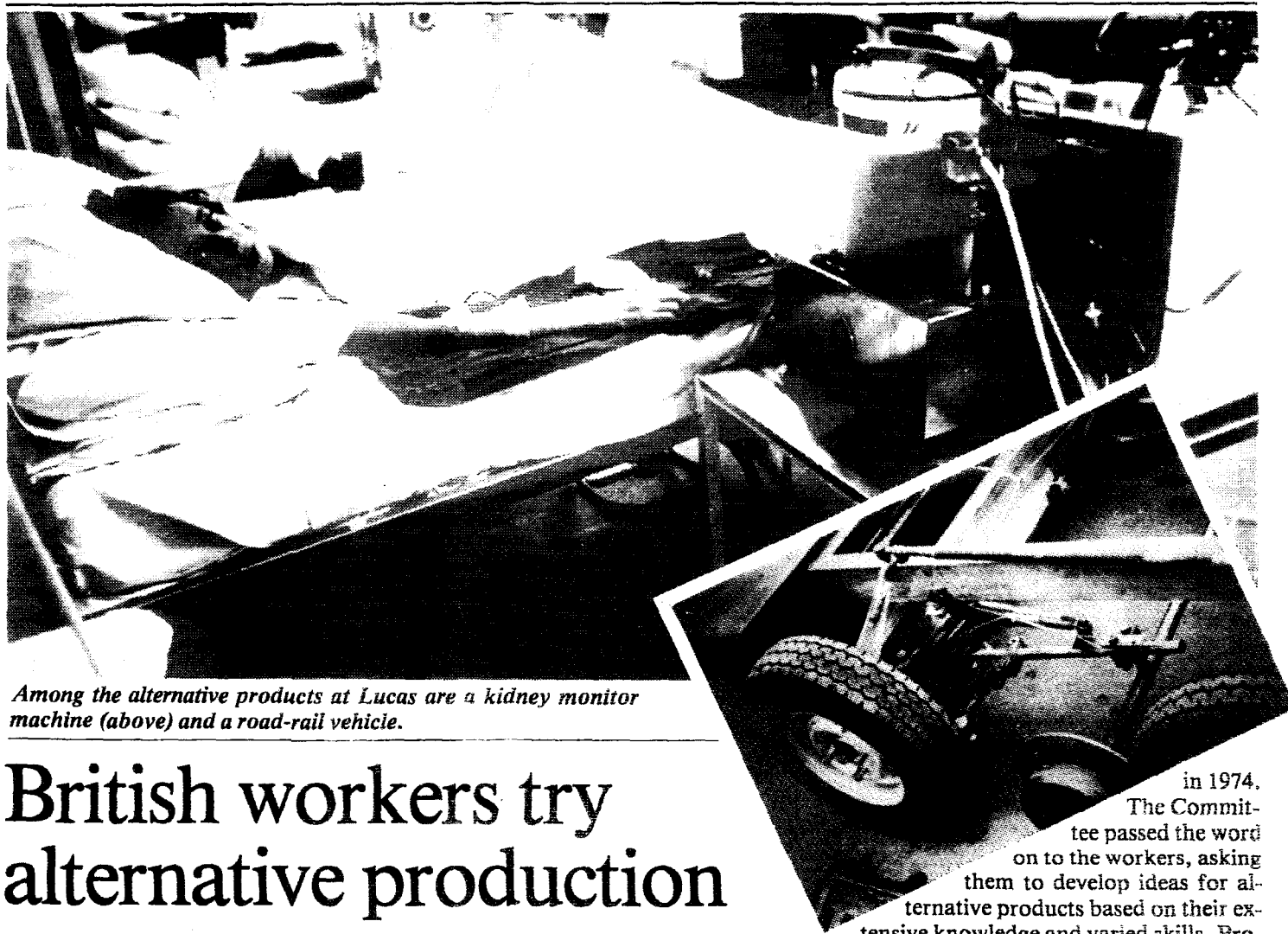
Management must give the employees' "works council"—legally required representative bodies in every business with five or more workers—timely advance notice of any decision to move or close a plant or to reduce employment. They must also supply reasons for the decision and comprehensive financial information so that the works council—with an outside expert, such as from a union—can evaluate the corporate decision and negotiate alternatives with the company, which must consider those proposals.

The settlement of worker protection provisions in West Germany is known as the "social plan." Similar in some ways to termination agreements that U.S. unions

can negotiate, the German plan is different in an important way: the law mandates it.

"Socially unjustified" dismissals are outlawed for any worker who has passed his or her six-month probation, and mass dismissals must not only be announced with reasons given but also submitted to the Regional Labor Department, which can delay dismissals for up to two months. That time is often used to arrange retraining. The Department can also use short workweek benefits through the unemployment insurance system for up to two years to help preserve jobs. In any case, German workers receive compensation and social insurance payments that add up to about 83 percent of prior pay while they are laid off. Employers who provide jobs for the long-term unemployed, the main focus of West German labor market policy, are eligible for an 80 percent wage subsidy for two years. Special government grants have also been made to reduce the impact of dislocation in industries, such as steel, that the government has decided to restructure or to aid temporarily ailing businesses.

Continued on page 8.



Among the alternative products at Lucas are a kidney monitor machine (above) and a road-rail vehicle.

## British workers try alternative production

By Alan Graubard

**A**FTER YEARS OF RESEARCH, negotiation and pressure, the union leader of the Lucas Aerospace division of the giant British multinational Lucas Industries could finally claim an interim victory: "It is the first time in industrial history that any company has sat down with the unions to come up with an alternative to unemployment."

The union coalition at Lucas, faced with the prospects of serious layoffs, had set an important precedent when they decided to present management with a series of proposals for both new products and new production processes that would guarantee their jobs and produce socially useful, ecologically sound products. Finally, they had persuaded management to discuss those proposals.

Lucas Aerospace is Europe's largest and best-equipped aircraft equipment manufacturer, supplying systems to many kinds of civil and military aircraft, including the Tri-Star, Concorde, and Anglo-

French Jaguar. Lucas Industries, the parent corporation, has 85,000 employees, with sales well over 970 million pounds. Recently the Aerospace division has not been profitable, and there have been serious lay-offs, with employment dropping from 18,000 in 1970 down to 12,000 at present.

Lucas workers organized a cross-union "Combine" in 1972, covering all 13 blue and white collar unions. Each site is represented on the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee, which has been the active group in the seven-year struggle although it has not been officially recognized by management or the formal union leadership. Aside from traditional defensive activity, like protecting workers against new hazards and exploitative technological innovations, the Combine began to consider a new long-term strategy to deal with the expected decline of aerospace and defense work.

The idea of generating ideas for alternative products was suggested to the Lucas stewards by the then Minister of Industry, left-wing Labor leader Tony Benn,

in 1974. The Committee passed the word on to the workers, asking them to develop ideas for alternative products based on their extensive knowledge and varied skills. Project teams at each plant discussed the technical feasibility of possible products in the fields of energy, transport, and medical technology. They attempted to match their abilities to needs of the community and to judge the potential marketability of the products.

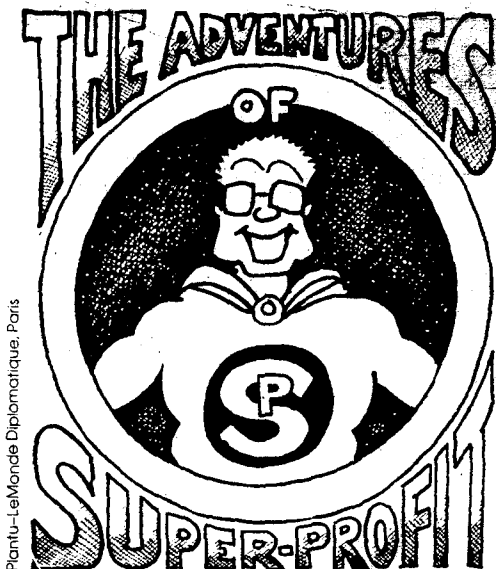
The Committee produced drafts of a 'Corporate Plan' and circulated it among the workers for discussion and modification. The final version of the Plan, five 200-page documents outlining 150 new products and radical proposals for reorganizing production, was presented to the public in January 1976.

## Management resists the Plan.

Lucas management predictably rejected the plan and its principles in April 1976. The Company would concentrate on traditional aerospace and defense business. It insisted that its military and civilian products were of high social utility. Furthermore, it maintained, the way to secure jobs in a market economy would be to keep doing what it had been doing in aerospace and defense. Of course, the

Continued on page 9.





## Shutdowns

Continued from page 7.

The Co-Determination Act of 1976 requires nearly 50 percent employee representation on supervisory boards of companies with over 2,000 employees. Under this law, recent legislation requiring companies to give their supervisory boards one year's advance notice of closings and mass dismissals should strengthen the hand of labor and the Regional Labor Departments.

However, workers in West Germany complain that employers neglect and misuse existing legislation, which is often obeyed only when unions or works councils compel it. Penalties are minimal and the courts often don't enforce the law.

Moreover, the works councils cannot influence the overall economy—only local management decisions. Although advance notice permits works councils to mobilize public opinion to force departing companies to live up to obligations to employees and communities, it doesn't permit the councils to cope with problems arising from restructuring and rapid technological change. As one young German union economist said, "We haven't repealed the laws of capitalism.

The market forces that cause many plant closings are fundamentally irresistible. When you have to jump out of a burning building, however, it is better to land in a fireman's net."

### SWEDEN

The "net" in Sweden may be the broadest and strongest in all of western Europe. Its national labor market board (AMS), with labor, business and government participation and a historic labor majority, has a large staff (roughly three times as large as the U.S. employment service in proportion to population) and a large budget (around \$2 billion a year or 9 percent of the national budget, 2.5 percent of the Gross National Product—comparable to a \$50 billion budget in the U.S.).

The money goes for a wide range of carefully coordinated programs to train people and to maintain or create employment, with only 10 percent of the total budget going to cash payments to the unemployed.

Advance notice of plant closings or large permanent layoffs must be relayed to the union, the county branch of the labor market board and the individual employee. Once that happens, the union has full legal rights to financial and other information about the company and can bring in outside, usually union, experts to evaluate the data. The company is ob-

ligated to negotiate every aspect of the decision, including the number of jobs to be eliminated, timing of reductions in employment and protection above the contractual minimums for affected workers. Time is on the workers' side: the company can't shut down until the negotiations are completed. A Labor Court, which can modify or delay the layoff, has the final word in disputed cases.

During its two- to six-month period of advance notice, the county labor market board pays special attention to handicapped and older workers who are most vulnerable. Unlike Germany, Sweden does not encourage early retirement or return migration of laid-off foreign workers as a solution to unemployment.

The local employment service calls joint meetings of interested parties to provide job training and computerized listing of job openings at the plant site. (Unlike the U.S., all job vacancies must be listed with the employment service.) Although the service encourages labor mobility, in recent years it has stressed retention of jobs or creation of jobs in affected communities. Public works projects, always available in reserve on a "standby shelf," can be used to create jobs.

Equally important, the labor board has funds for creating employment from an investment reserve. Every company is allowed by law to set aside a portion of

its profits during good years into this tax-free reserve, which is spent for job creation only with government or AMS approval.

Starting in 1976, the government began collecting voluntarily supplied plans on investment and employment by the 170 largest companies for the coming five years. The government, which must be notified of any changes in the plans, holds informal discussions to "steer" private investment plans to meet community job needs.

As a last resort, unemployment compensation—for the slightly more than 2 percent out of work—covers 75 to 90 percent of former pay. Moreover, they get uninterrupted medical coverage and no break in pension credits.

To the dismay of European trade union militants, these programs do not fundamentally challenge private control over investment decisions that lie at the heart of economic dislocation. But corporations are forced to shoulder at least part of the social costs of shutdowns. Also, economic decision making, although firmly in the corporate grasp, has been opened to some worker and public accountability. Enactment and diligent administration of such legislation in the U.S. would represent a tremendous advance for the working people of this country over present knee-jerk reactions to dislocation crises.

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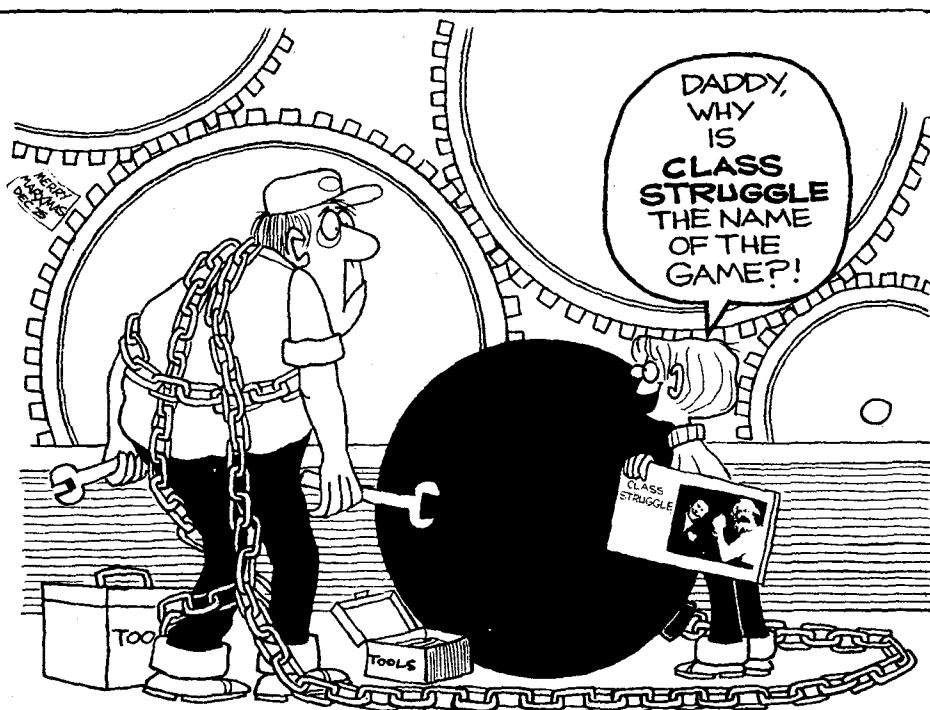
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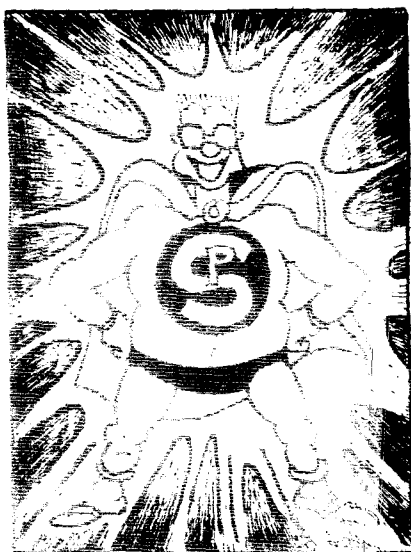
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## Lucas

Continued from page 1

company stated that it would be happy to engage in discussions about product ideas from whatever source. In principle, it was interested in any feasible profitable ideas, from whatever source.

The Combine kept up its campaign, despite the company refusal. In 1977 de-lining orders led to announcements of layoffs that were blocked only by the threat of industrial action. The Combine gained the support of a few left-wing Labour MPs. They also mobilized academic backing.

In February 1978, in conjunction with North East London Polytechnic, the Combine Committee established the Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems (CAITS). Relying on foundation money, the Centre develops theoretical and practical proposals for alternative products, designs and tests prototypes, and advises workers trying to start Lucas-type diversification campaigns, for example, at the Vickers plant in Newcastle, where the C-100 tank is made, and at Chrysler.

Early this year, Lucas announced plans to close two plants, one near Liverpool (Merseyside), where unemployment is at

a level of 12 percent, twice the national average, the other in Bradford, near Leeds. The announcement brought renewed threats of union action. Under the auspices of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU), the official negotiating union body for the industry—a working body of shop stewards produced a new 350-page plan "Turning Industrial Decline into Expansion—A Trade Union Initiative."

### A counter-plan to layoffs.

The report, which developed ideas from the original Corporate Plan of the Combine Committee, gave detailed descriptions of the engineering background and potential demand for six specific kinds of equipment: gas-fired heat pumps, kidney machines, gas turbines, fluidized bed coal combustion units, combined heat and power systems, and a hybrid diesel-electric engine.

The report also presented detailed criticism of management practices, accusing Lucas of transferring jobs overseas, misleading Parliament, concealing information, breaking up valuable design teams, and mismanaging many of its product lines.

From meetings of the shop stewards, management and the Labour Party minister of Industry there emerged an agreement by Lucas Aerospace to build new factories in Merseyside and Bradford,

with substantial government financial assistance. The Company will close the existing factories as planned but it will provide additional employment at one of the proposed factories and guaranteed that there will be no layoffs at Bradford and none at Liverpool for two years.

Important as these employment guarantees are, the 'breakthrough' heralded in some of the press accounts was the agreement of the company to set up a group with management representatives, union shop stewards, an 'independent management consultant' and a representative of the Department of Industry to consider a limited number of alternative products, some to be nominated by the CSEU and some by Lucas management.

With Margaret Thatcher's new government, a sympathetic ear in London is very unlikely. Activists from the Combine Committee, less euphoric than official union spokespersons, call the agreement 'a working ceasefire,' in any case. They point out that there are still layoffs ahead, that the company's ideas of what is commercial will not be trustworthy, that the agreement is vague, and that the working party to be set up does not give equal weight to stewards and management. They also note that the worker representatives are to be chosen by the CSEU leadership, which has not been friendly to the maverick Shop Stewards Combine Committee.

Even skeptical activists of the Committee recognize the importance of having public acknowledgement of the basic ideas that workers have the right to participate in decisions about what a company will manufacture and that they have the ability and knowledge to exercise this right. With long-term prospects of economic decline and job loss in aerospace—and other industries, as well—workers have even more reason to claim the right to active participation in some of the basic economic decisions that have been considered solely the prerogative of private owners.

By insisting on considering social usefulness, ecological effects, and security of employment in planning production and not just corporate profit, the Lucas project has broadened the vision of what workers can legitimately demand. Even *The Financial Times* commented that "no matter how guarded or conditional, that agreement is a measure of how much respectability the shop stewards' radical plans have gained."

California Newsreel is distributing a film on the Lucas Campaign entitled *We've Always Done It This Way*. It is a 16mm color film, 52 minutes long, with an edited 30-minute version available for use by labor and community groups on a 'what you can afford' basis. Newsreel's address is 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, Ca. 94103.

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## OPEC



President of the OPEC oil cartel, Mana Saeed Al Otaiba of the United Arab Emirates, talking to media representatives at the beginning of the Geneva conference, June 26.

## Saudis do their best to help the West, they expect a return

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

**I**T COULD HAVE BEEN WORSE," said Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, as he stood before the press in Geneva's plush Intercontinental Hotel last week, at the close of the June 26-28 OPEC oil ministers' conference. The Saudi petroleum minister, looking and sounding as if he had just stepped off the pages of Paul Erdman's *Crash of '79*, was referring to the decision just made by OPEC to raise world oil prices by a minimum of 15 percent.

Effective July 1, OPEC would begin selling its oil under a two-tier pricing system, Yamani continued. The base price would move from \$14.55 to \$18 a barrel, beyond which Saudi Arabia and perhaps Qatar and the United Arab Emirates would not go.

However, other OPEC members would have leeway to set prices or charge premiums up to a maximum selling price of \$23.50 a barrel. This complicated structure had been agreed to, it is now known, to accommodate the OPEC price hawks and avoid a total collapse of the conference. Saudi Arabia had contended that a sharp upswing in oil prices would undermine Western efforts at recovery from the recent world recession. The Saudis had wanted a flat increase to \$17 a barrel.

While Libya had come to Geneva calling for an increase to \$27 a barrel, in the end it was Iran that refused to knuckle under to pressure from the Saudis for moderate pricing. Thus Iran will be selling most of its current output of 3.5 million barrels per day (bpd) at \$21-22 a barrel and will probably slap on premiums up to the \$23.50 maximum. Algeria, Libya and Venezuela are likely to set their base prices very close to the outer limit.

The militants also got Yamani to agree to chastise the oil companies for price gouging this spring, when the Iranian Revolution caused a 5 million bpd shortfall on the international market. Until further notice, ARAMCO (the Exxon-Mobil-Socal-Texaco consortium that runs Saudi Arabia's oilfields and markets its crude) and other multinationals buying Saudi oil will have 30 instead of the normal 60 days to pay in cash for their purchases.

When the news of OPEC's decision reached Tokyo, the assembled heads of state threw out a draft communique calling for a dialogue with the oil exporters, with the aim of finding a supply-demand

ratio acceptable to the two parties, and took a hard line. The price increase was termed "unwarranted" and sure to have a "crippling effect" on the economies of both developed and developing countries. President Carter announced that the 15 percent boost in the price of imported oil would put some 200,000 Americans out of work by year's end and reduce U.S. growth in 1979 to zero. Meanwhile, the best estimate is that the OPEC price increase will boost U.S. gasoline and fuel oil prices by around 8 cents a gallon. Just prior to the OPEC conference, prices in many parts of the U.S. were pushing \$1 a gallon. European leaders, while less apocalyptic on the employment side, generally echoed Carter's growth predictions.

### Gas in Europe is up.

European gasoline prices are also going up. In Britain, increases work out to 12 U.S. cents a gallon (Imperial), putting gas prices up to 1.18 pounds a gallon. French sources are talking about the equivalent of \$2.50 a gallon for gasoline.

To ease the effects of more expensive oil in the long term, the U.S., the EEC countries and Japan vowed to restrict oil imports to 1978 levels through 1985. In the case of the U.S., this would mean a limit of 8.5 million bpd, while the EEC cap would be 470 million tons a year. As well, the leaders of the seven major industrialized nations agreed to intensify the search for alternative sources of energy. The summit's message to OPEC, said British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was that "We are determined to cut demand and to be less reliant on that source of energy (oil)."

Still, from the perspective of the Western leaders in Tokyo, Sheikh Yamani had been right: it could have been worse. Iran and the other OPEC militants had been brought back under some semblance of an orderly pricing system—Iran and Iraq had sold substantial amounts of their production on the free or "spot" market this spring, at prices up to \$8 a barrel above the OPEC base—and oil prices will now at least be more predictable.

In addition, the Saudis had again succeeded in delaying a decision on replacing the sagging dollar as OPEC's price-fixing currency. For the last two years, Algeria and Libya have been leading a fight to dump the dollar in exchange for a basket of currencies, including the harder deutschmark and Swiss franc.

As it has turned out, however, the best news from the summiters point of view was that, once again, Saudi Arabia had managed to avoid committing itself to

production limits, thus leaving the day open for another boost in Saudi output to drive down oil prices. The Saudis had done this in 1977 and again in the first three months of this year. The latest news is that they are preparing to do it again.

The Saudi government has just announced a temporary production increase, probably in the neighborhood of an extra 500,000 to 1 million bpd. The kingdom is now lifting 8.5 million bpd, about 30 percent of OPEC output and 15 percent of world oil production. Last year, the U.S. imported 1.13 million bpd from Saudi Arabia, its major foreign supplier, representing about 18 percent of its intake from abroad.

For Carter and his colleagues, there are other "positive aspects" to the OPEC package. One obvious benefit is that harried Western heads of state can now blame their countries' woes on the Arabs. Sheikh Yamani anticipated this problem at his June 28 press conference. In response to a question about the impact of the oil price increase on the American economy, Yamani declared that the U.S. was indeed headed for a recession but that this was destined to happen without any help from OPEC. The U.S. recession had been planned by the Carter administration, Yamani said, as a means of cooling down the economy and curbing inflation. European leaders have also rushed to take advantage of the opening offered by OPEC. Thatcher has just declared a year of "little or no" growth for Britain, while French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has announced that his controversial program to "modernize" (i.e., de-nationalize) the French economy is going to be set back by the oil "crisis."

### A green light to nuclear power.

Perhaps the most ominous outcome of the OPEC conference is that the energy crisis it is said to have engendered gives Western governments a welcome green light to press on with nuclear power programs that have been immobilized since the Three Mile Island scare in the U.S. By arguing that West Germany now faces a "crippling" energy gap, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt now plans to regain the initiative against anti-nuke militants within and without his Social Democratic Party.

These groups had succeeded in tying up West Germany's nuclear power program in the wake of the Three Mile Island affair. In France, the government has just announced a long-range drive to replace the bulk of French petroleum intake by nuclear power, provoking representa-

tives of all the country's national unions to sign a petition of protest. They contend that the government, taking advantage of popular hysteria over high gasoline prices, will push ahead with nuclear power programs at a speed that sacrifices safety factors.

So far, it is uncertain how the U.S. will react on the question of nuclear power. Carter's commitment to use taxes on the windfall profits of the oil companies to expand research on solar power may or may not be genuine. In any case, the financial base of the program is threatened by dilution of the windfall profits tax bill by the House of Representatives.

Then there is the question of what the OPEC conference in Geneva and the context in which it took place can reveal about the state of play in Middle East politics. The first observation is that, whereas Saudi Arabia appears to have again succeeded in staving off the worst for the industrialized nations, in keeping price increases within acceptable (if not desirable) limits, and preserving its option to boost output, the kingdom's freedom of maneuver in defense of Western interests is not what it used to be.

Privately, Saudi diplomats concede that the U.S.-sponsored Egyptian-Israeli accord has placed them in a delicate position within OPEC. Saudi Arabia is being obliged to balance its economic belief in interdependence with the West, particularly the U.S., against its religious convictions and near-paternalistic feelings for the "Arab Nations." Thus, the Saudis, in view of the pressure being exerted upon them, may be making their last grand gesture toward the U.S. in boosting production to scale down prices and give the West breathing space to adjust to the new OPEC price structure.

If the West, specifically the U.S., defaults on its pledge of energy conservation, needed to ease pressure on OPEC's dwindling petroleum reserves, and fails to respond to Saudi overtures with pressure on Israel to open up Jerusalem and to give real sovereignty to the occupied areas, the Saudis will be up against a very high wall in the next round of OPEC talks.

There is also the matter of how much oil the Saudis can realistically pump to meet western needs, assuming that demand is not scaled down in accordance with the promises of the Tokyo summit. After years of euphoric estimates of Saudi capacity, submitted to the U.S. government by the CIA and the Trilateral Commission, among others, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee has now concluded, on the basis of subpoenaed oil company documents, that Saudi Arabia cannot sustain a level of production of much over 10 million bpd for more than 15-20 years without experiencing an irreversible decline in production. The U.S. Department of Energy has calculated that the Saudis would have to boost output to at least 12 million bpd to enable OPEC to meet the present rate of increase in Western oil consumption (3.5 percent a year).

Finally, a development that bears close watching: Iraq's transformation from one of OPEC's price hawks to a position of moderation on both price and levels of production. While Iraq will probably take advantage of the new, higher price structure of OPEC to boost the asking price for its crude, it has also held back from commitments to keep its production within present limits (3 million bpd). European observers look to Iraq, now swinging toward the Western orbit out of fear of a repetition of the Iranian revolution within its borders, as a fallback in case Saudi Arabia cannot or will not meet Western demands for increased output. Iraq's oil reserves, while uncharted to date, are thought to be considerable.

This may only mean that current Iraqi income is insufficient to fund its ambitious development programs. It may indicate an impending change in the Middle East political lineup. The main feature would be decreased pressure on Egypt, as Iraqi retrenchment drags Syria, increasingly dependent on Baghdad's wealth due to the expense of its "peace-keeping" mission in Lebanon, into the background. ■



## PORTUGAL



The struggle now centers between forces led by Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes, (center), and former Prime Minister Mario Soares, (right).

## Socialists strive to build a Parliamentary democracy

By Nancy Lieber

Portugal is in the midst of a new crisis that may be resolved by coming legislative elections. Having overthrown in 1974 some fifty years of right-wing dictatorship, having narrowly escaped a year later the establishment of a left-wing dictatorship, by the Portuguese Communist Party and extreme-left Armed Forces Movement, the country is now engaged in a battle over what kind of Western-style democracy will prevail in Portugal—a conservative presidential regime, or a left-oriented parliamentary system?

The debate is remarkably similar to that affecting French politics since 1958 and Spanish politics since the death of Franco. In Portugal, the question will not be resolved until the projected Constitutional revision begins in 1980, but a swing to presidentialism began in July 1978 with the dismissal of Socialist Prime Minister Mario Soares by President Eanes. Ignoring constitutional procedure, Eanes named a non-member of Parliament as Prime Minister, who formed a "non-partisan" (i.e. non-party personalities) government.

When this government died several months later with a parliamentary vote of no confidence, Eanes appointed another Prime Minister, who formed in November 1978 a government of non-party independent personalities "holding the confidence of the President." This government's economic plan and budget were defeated in Parliament in March 1979, then, faced with a sure motion of censure by the Socialists and Communists, the government resigned in early June, leading to the current uncertainty in Portugal.

The leading voice for parliamentary democracy in Portugal today is the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP). The PSP's main hope for strengthening parliamentary government is to emerge from the anticipated elections once again as the largest vote-getter (around 35 percent) and therefore as a leading contender for power. The Socialists' second hope is that the president-elect will restrain their drift toward "banana republic" institutions in order not to jeopardize Portuguese entry into the European Economic Community (EEC).

Of course, the Portuguese Socialists are not without their critics—even on the democratic left. These critics charge that while Portuguese Socialists unquestionably displayed a commitment to democracy while in government, they seemed at times

to forget their commitment to socialism.

To deal with this charge, Socialists recall the conditions under which the Soares government came to power in July 1976: political uncertainty (attempted right and left coups, military versus party control, the ignoring of electoral results); and economic chaos (nationalizations without regard to any plan, illegal land seizures, 70 percent inflation, 15 percent unemployment, seven-fold increase in

the "self-managing" industries (many of whose former owners are presently suing for recovery of their property). They completed the decolonization process in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and applied in October 1977 for Portuguese entry into the EEC. Finally, throughout the two Soares governments—despite harsh economic policies—Portugal had a remarkably low level of strikes, disruptions and work absenteeism.

### The issues in Portugal are remarkably similar to those in France since 1958 and in Spain since Franco's death.

balance of payments deficit, international energy crisis, falling GNP, national near-bankruptcy).

Under these circumstances, it wasn't surprising that the Socialists acted almost obsessively according to two basic priorities: 1) to consolidate the vast changes that had occurred in Portuguese society, to install a sense of order that was lacking in the Revolutionary period, and 2) to place those changes in a legal framework, to legitimate them via a democratic, constitutional procedure that was lacking under the dictatorship. The Socialists attempted to link the establishment of political stability and democratic institutions to the recovery of the Portuguese economy.

Critics do not find fault with the Socialists' desire to establish a stable, sovereign state, but they reproach the Soares government the price it was willing to pay to achieve the economic recovery necessary to consolidate democracy. That price included compensation payments to dispossessed former owners of nationalized property, the return of hundreds of State controlled properties to their previous owners, the June 1977 Barreto law that called for the return of large reserves of the collectivized *latifundistas* (large estates) to their original owners, laws regulating the right to strike and granting favorable treatment to foreign investors and to the private sector.

At the same time, the Socialists managed to get the nationalized sector on its feet and running (facilitated by the return of tens of thousands of cadres who had fled the country in 1975). They granted desperately needed credits and loans to

Yet none of that changed the fact that Portugal's enormous external trade deficit placed the country near bankruptcy. In the spring of 1977, the Soares government turned to the only available source of financial aid—the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

As Soares put it in his second swearing in as Prime Minister (the first government had fallen on a vote of no confidence in the IMF negotiations in December 1977): "No miracles should be demanded from the Second Constitutional Government. Things are what they are and the present crisis has evil roots that date from a distant past and has an international conditioning that goes beyond our power, making us unable to change it in absolute or immediate terms."

The Socialists held one strong card. If they couldn't get a loan on acceptable terms, they told the IMF, the price would be democracy in Portugal. The IMF listened. At first it had demanded very stringent conditions (25 percent devaluation, 1.9 billion dollar deficit to be removed in one year). The PSP had refused, and eventually, in May 1978, the negotiators reached an acceptable compromise (i.e. 15 percent devaluation, 1 billion dollar deficit to be removed in two years).

Nevertheless, austerity was indeed to be the route. The Soares government agreed to preside over the required tight credit policy, increased interest rates, stagnant (even negative) rate of growth, high levels of unemployment, high inflation, cuts in public spending and private consumption and further openings to private foreign corporate investors.

The Socialists are critical of the IMF's

rigidity, but they accepted these IMF-imposed policies because they could see no alternative.

With the successful negotiation of the IMF loan, Soares' center-right governing partner, the CDS, withdrew its support, thereby opening the way to the drift toward presidentialism during the past year.

The question of Soares' proposed strategy vis-a-vis the government and possible future alliances is noteworthy because it exemplifies the continuing dilemma of the Mediterranean socialist parties. The Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian socialist parties all place themselves on the left wing of the socialist spectrum, where they find themselves competing for working class support with significant Communist parties. Although together the two parties may constitute a near or actual majority, in the absence of left unity the right continues to rule.

In Portugal, the Socialists do not envisage a left coalition. The Socialists claim that from the beginning of the Revolution, the Communists put Soviet interests before Portuguese interests. For instance, the Socialists claim, the Communists role in the decolonization process (in Angola, in particular, where the key military governors were Communists) was dictated primarily by the desire to open the road to Soviet penetration of Africa. Furthermore, the Socialists argue, the Communists have weakened considerably the Eurocommunist movement by showing that a pro-Soviet party could not only survive, but grow, in a parliamentary situation. The French Communists saw that, and now even the Spanish Communist Party is retreating from its Eurocommunist position, conclude the Socialists.

What about governmental alliances to the right? The Socialists and the Social Democratic Party together hold a sizeable majority in Parliament (180 out of 263 seats), but in the past these parties have not been on good terms. The Social Democrats are much more conservative than their name indicates and resemble more a Christian Democratic, even Gaullist, party. Nonetheless the Socialists may be forced to consider such an alliance as an alternative to continuing non-partisan presidential rule.

The Socialists' involvement in the trade union movement is closely related to its rivalry with the Communists for working class support. For nearly fifty years official "syndicates" maintained their proper, subservient, place in the corporatist world of the dictatorship. After the Revolution, the extreme leftists and Communists found that model perfectly suitable to their needs, since the Communists were heavily predominant in the official trade union grouping, Intersyndical. Indeed, they passed legislation prohibiting other trade unions. The Socialists, after signing an agreement with the ICFTU, managed to reverse that law in October 1977. While some in the party felt (and continue to feel) the battle versus Communist influence should be waged from within Intersyndical, others moved to form a new, socialist-oriented trade union. In January 1979, the UGT (General Workers' Union) was born. Organized by bank and insurance company employees, the UGT to date is finding its greatest success among white-collar workers. Its relationship to the PSP is close, but unofficial. Thus the recent party congress endorsed a policy of encouraging its members to join the UGT, but it has no intention of duplicating the Leninist "transmission belt" arrangement of the PCP and Intersyndical.

The current political crisis comes on the heels of the PSP Congress. With Portugal again on the brink, the Socialists are understandably alarmed. After successfully battling at the outset of the Revolution those advocating a non-democratic socialism, it would be a cruel irony if the Socialists now found themselves submerged by a democratic, but presidential, regime whose backers are former supporters of the *ancien regime*—the military, church, capitalists, large landowners, fascists/extreme rightwingers. "We Socialists sacrificed ourselves for democracy," a former Socialist Minister commented to me. They hope it has not been a permanent sacrifice. ■



BY RONALD RADOSH

**I** WROTE THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE in late September 1978, on return from a study tour of Jamaica sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism. The report and analysis contained herein have been confirmed by events taking place during the past few months. If anything, the possibility of a country like Jamaica moving towards socialism is more problematic than ever, given the International Monetary Fund's imposition of extreme draconian conditions as the sine qua non for granting Jamaica a loan.

Price increases mandated by the IMF have caused a drop in local buying power. Hovering between 30-80 percent, they have worked to produce economic slowdown. The result has been a large increase in unemployment. The current figure is an astonishing 25 percent, with estimates of real unemployment to be between 35-40 percent. Coming on top of the extensive cutback of government sponsored social programs, such as lend-lease of low rent land to peasants, and combined with the scheduled 1 percent monthly devaluations of the Jamaican dollar—the situation of the Jamaican poor and working class has deteriorated since early fall.

In this context, the right wing, led by the Jamaican Labor Party, has increased

its attempts to force the collapse of Michael Manley's government. In February, the JLP spread false rumors that the price of gasoline was to increase from the already heavily inflated figure of \$3.50 per gallon to \$4.50-\$5.00. Rioting occurred in certain parts of the island, the government mobilized police and militia and set up roadside checkpoints, and the JLP convened a large protest rally in Kingston aimed at toppling the administration.

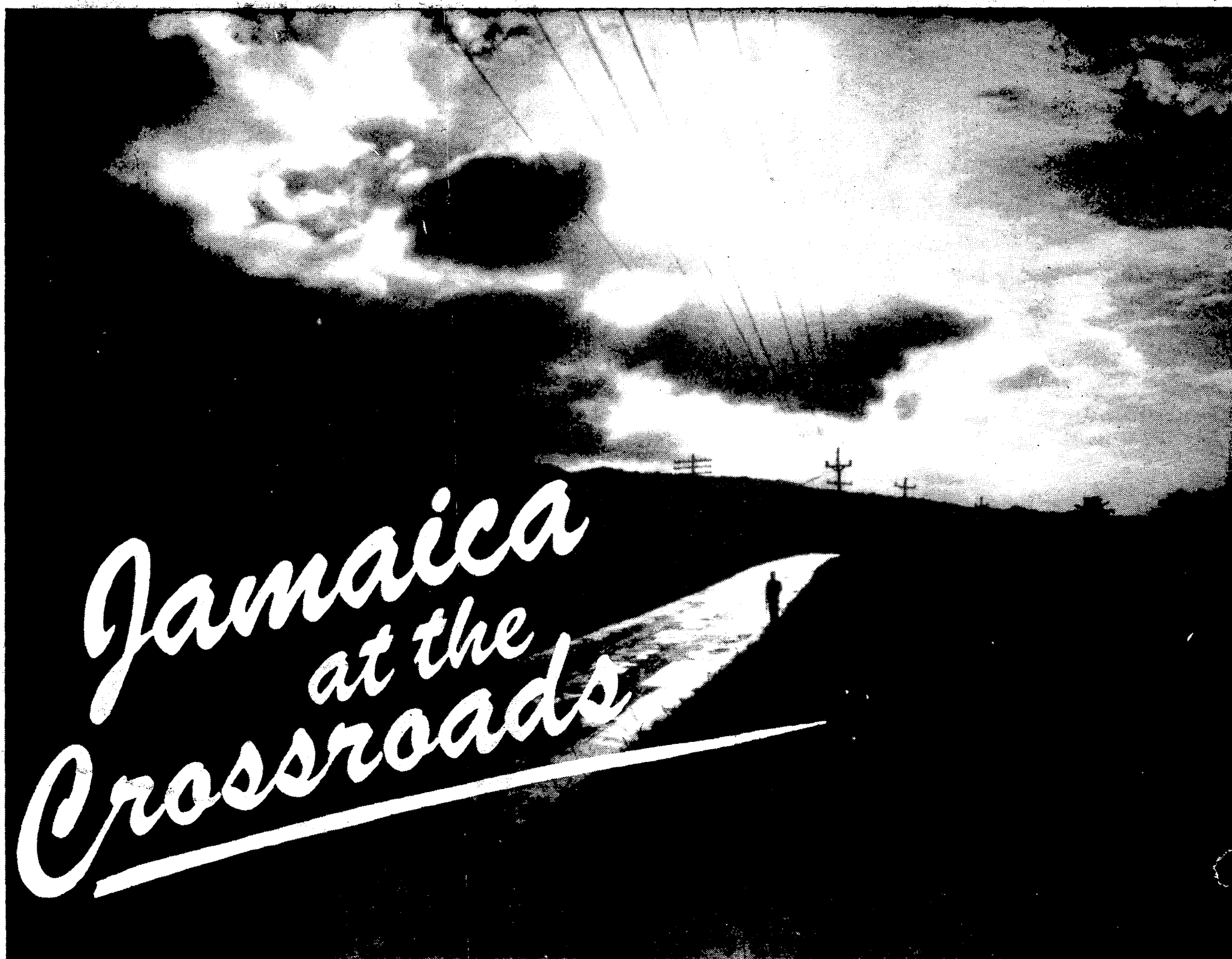
In December, the scheduled founding convention of the Workers Party of Jamaica—a "Marxist-Leninist Communist" party—took place. Michael Manley sent a letter to the Communists, praising their announced decision to support the unity of all anti-imperialist forces. But there could be no getting around the fact that the Workers Party's establishment represented an attempt of the far left to break from Manley. Workers Party chairman Trevor Munroe called on Manley to lead from the left, and warned the Prime Minister about the pitfalls facing those who stand in the middle of the road—"they are licked from both sides," Munroe sarcastically stated. The Communists, whose convention was attended by fraternal delegates from the Communist parties of 14 nations, depicted themselves as the most firm opponents of the IMF, who they con-



demned as "agents of imperialism." The PNP program of the Manley government, the Communists argue, is little more than advocacy of bourgeois democracy and state capitalism in the economic sphere.

So, as for the moment Manley holds on to the reigns of governmental power—buffeted from critics on both left and right—the future of a noble attempt to forge a democratic socialist alternative in the Caribbean is much in doubt.

From Sept. 13 to 17, two important meetings were taking place in Jamaica. Delegates to the 40th Annual Conference of the governing Peoples National Party (PNP), led by Prime Minister Michael Manley, met to reaffirm their party's commitment to move towards democratic socialism in the Caribbean island. A few blocks away, at the luxury Pegasus Hotel, representatives of the International Monetary Fund were taking a sharp look at how the Manley government was meeting the stiff terms laid down by the IMF when they granted the government a \$240 mil-





lion loan in May 1978.

The juxtaposition was striking. The ability of the PNP to move forward towards the goals they have chosen, an egalitarian redistribution of wealth and a takeover of "the commanding heights of the economy," not to speak of being able simply to make life more tolerable for the impoverished majority, is being seriously threatened by the conditions established by the IMF.

Any Jamaican will tell a visitor that his country is in deep trouble, with the immediate need of overcoming a large balance of payments deficit. Michael Manley told a visiting delegation of American democratic socialists, of which this writer was a part, that his government is forced to spend 85 percent of its hard currency on energy imports and debt service, leaving little for purchase of essential items like foodstuffs and medicine, items that must often be purchased at highly inflated prices. Moreover, the price of energy alone has skyrocketed since 1973. In 1972, Jamaica spent \$50 million per year for oil. Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Trade Derrick Heaven estimates that the 1978 bill will be \$260 million!

In the midst of these continuing problems, after much debate and searching, the socialist leadership of the PNP was forced by the lack of any realistic alternatives to accept the terms for a loan set by the IMF. These terms stipulate holding down wage increases to 15 percent over two years (which produced strenuous objections from the government-affiliated National Workers Union) decontrol of prices, reduction of government expenditures on social programs, and restriction on the growth of the public sector of the economy. It stipulated an end to the two-tier exchange rate of the Jamaican dollar, establishing a 15 percent devaluation at the special rate and a 48 percent devaluation at the basic rate used for imports. Gasoline, to take one necessary commodity, increased in price from \$2.25 a gallon to the current \$3.50 as a result.

The effect of the devaluation is most clear when one examines the exchange rate of the Jamaican dollar (J\$) for the American dollar. In April 1977, it exchanged at J\$ 50 to U.S. \$1.00. As of mid-September, after a new mini-devaluation, the new rate was J\$1.51 to U.S. \$1.00—close to a 75 percent devaluation will produce the intended results, reduction of imports and increase of exports. Indeed, the evidence suggests that it is producing domestic inflation without any reduction of imports. Higher unemployment is one visible result of lowered government expenditures; it is now as high as 23-30 percent, depending on the figures one uses. And the nation cannot invest in agriculture to increase self-sufficiency, since it cannot obtain the funds with which to purchase fertilizer. "Compliance with the tough IMF conditions," critic Michael Moffitt of the Transnational Institute writes, "will likely reverse the process of democratic social change set in motion by the Manley government." Foreign Minister P.J. Patterson agrees: "We still have our socialist vision," he put it to me, "but we are be-

ing forced to slow down."

In the context of this severe economic crisis, the Manley government is suffering attacks from both its left and right. The opposition Jamaican Labor Party (JLP), which until last summer was boycotting parliament and refusing to participate in government or plan for contestation in new elections, is starting an active new campaign to bring down the government. Using the slogan "The poor can't take no more," which one sees virtually everywhere, the JLP argues that massive inflation and high unemployment is the result both of socialism and mismanagement. While working to restore capitalist economic programs, its leaders ironically talk as spokesman for the very poor for whom the Manley government has given its all.

EDWARD SEAGA, CURRENT leader of the opposition, is a Harvard educated businessman of Lebanese descent.

Even his aristocratic poise seems to distinguish him from his fellow countrymen. Informality seems the pattern in Jamaica; Manley appears most often in his short-sleeved Jamaican-style leisure suit. Seaga, however, welcomes visitors in his high-rise office wearing a pin-striped business suit, looking like the stereotype of a Western banker. He was the only person I saw wearing a suit and tie in two weeks.

Seaga seeks to depict himself as a man of the left. "Nor do I differ much from the Social-Democrats of Western Europe," he begins. But his analysis belies his claim. His argument is that the private sector is the only productive sector of the economy, and that it is failing in Jamaica. The country has seen five years of negative growth, he claims, with a minus-10 percent growth rate alone in 1978, "as bad as the last five years altogether." The fault is not with high prices and an inequitable world economic structure, but with a government that has been "squeezing the guts out of the country."

According to Seaga, the government takes money and puts it into nonproductive schemes, doling out money to workers and farmers in exchange for their votes. The IMF can't help, because no climate exists to produce confidence. The IMF loan, he continues, is based on the understanding that depressed consumption leads to increased savings, which are then converted to investments. But that is not happening, since "nobody is going to invest" if businessmen fear an eventual government takeover of their firms. "The problems of the country," Seaga charges, "are political."

Indeed, Seaga believes that Manley's PNP "falls within the context of socialism in its Marxist-Leninist sense." But his evidence is unconvincing, amounting to an attack on Jamaica's close ties with Cuba, ties that allow Manley to gain credibility as well as new allies in Jamaica's attempt for more leverage for Third World nations in the international economic system. But Seaga argues that Cuba's role amounts to "intervention in the political struggles of our country." Although Seaga and the JLP try to hint that Jamaica under Manley is moving towards a Cuban style regime, the visitor finds little to

substantiate this charge. The country has a free as well as a fierce opposition press, and its political structure is soundly democratic. And when Manley welcomed Fidel Castro as an honored guest and ally in helping to break Caribbean dependence on Western imperialism, he made it clear in a major 1976 speech that "the Cuban system cannot work in Jamaica. We have a different tradition.... We do not believe that authoritarianism is the right path for Jamaica."

Manley's right-wing opponents, how-

ever, continue to ignore the Prime Minister's words, and to claim the opposite. Every issue of *The Daily Gleaner* depicts Jamaica as a nation on the eve of bloody revolution. The apprehension of criminals by police is portrayed as the capture of secret revolutionaries, although no evidence is offered to back up such claims. "Was a Revolution Being Planned?" reads the banner headline in the Sept. 13 edition. "Cubans authorized to land armed," reads another. One reads on to find that the story reveals that when Castro visited Jamaica, his security officers were armed. And another JLP leader,



Right, shanties of Montego Bay; insert, an almost-empty Playboy Club. Above, Michael Manley.



# Jamaica

Enid Bennett, charges that within one year, Manley's secret goal of making Jamaica "a fascist state" will have been obtained, a "crawling-peg fascism" that she asserts exists to complement the "crawling-peg devaluation." But her charge that unspecified fascist measures are meant to "discourage dissent over the unbearable pressures on the poor" seem unfounded, given that her own speech and the rantings of *The Daily Gleaner* express continual dissent.

So columnists in *The Gleaner* regularly make the case for a return to free market economics and a major attempt to gain new capital investment on Western terms. The case is most lucidly developed in that paper by Dr. Carl Stone, one of Jamaica's major political scientists. According to Stone, Manley's hope to redistribute income was bound to fail, because not enough wealth exists in Jamaica to increase the living standard via that path. The government could produce wealth by moving "along Marxist lines of accelerated state production," Stone writes, but that would call for financing from "a rich socialist country willing to invest in a Marxist-Leninist future for Jamaica."

One would expect to find the socialist left united in defense of Manley and the PNP. But tough austerity measures have produced an opposite reaction, a growing disillusionment in some circles about the possibility of a democratic path to socialism. Columnists for the *Jamaica Daily News*, the small circulation government-financed second paper, are using their perch to launch new blasts at Manley. "The reality of a vigorous return to the high road...of democratic socialism," concludes one pessimist, "is far-fetched in the light of the IMF and economic realities."

A detailed tough analysis from the left was offered by Mark Figueroa. The D&G Bottling Company, a major soft-drink supplier, had just announced a lay-off of 100 workers—a result of lowered consumption after devaluation. Like Carl Stone on the right, Figueroa argues that despite imports of raw materials, devaluation has caused exports to fall, as the balance-of-payments situation deteriorates further. The government, he charges, is pursuing "the IMF policy of cutting the standard of living of the working people" as the way to encourage productivity.

Complaining about IMF imposed devaluation, Figueroa notes that new taxes, price increases and devaluation led to a 20 percent increased cost of living in two months, with a decline in workers' pur-

chasing power of one-sixth. As increased exports fail to materialize, he predicts more layoffs, with even more devaluation of the Jamaican dollar. At that point, net domestic assets will be in danger, since low production insures that tax receipts will also fall behind target. The prognosis: economic chaos, as the government borrows more and fails the next IMF test, or cuts expenditures and produces more layoffs in the government sector.

Figueroa reaches his own political conclusion: "We can no longer go by the prejudice that we can only depend on the foreign and local capitalists and cannot depend on the working people. We cannot continue to be guided by the capitalist economic theories as put forward by the architects of the IMF agreement." He concludes that "working people must demand that the government come out of the IMF agreement now."

The anti-IMF demand seems to be the new cutting edge of the far left. It even strikes a responsive chord among members of the "Manley left" in the PNP. Talking with John Maxwell, a mid-forties bearded and affable journalist, one gains a more comprehensive picture of the dilemma facing the Jamaican socialist movement. As editor of the PNP's weekly theoretical paper, *Public Opinion*, and as a well known TV commentator, Maxwell has his pulse on all sections of the island's political community. Maxwell, too, would have preferred that his country not have accepted the IMF loan, and he poses the stark alternative of total self-imposed austerity. At least, he posits, that would leave Jamaicans with greater dignity than that afforded by succumbing to terms imposed by absentee money-lenders. But Maxwell, too, is weak when it comes to suggesting alternatives.

Others on the far left think they have answers. Dr. Trevor Munroe, chairman of the Workers Liberation League, is a popular lecturer in politics at the University of the West Indies. He also heads the Marxist-Leninist association that gave Manley "critical support" in the 1976 elections. But he took the week of the PNP conference to announce that his comrades were forming themselves into a separate communist party, the Workers Party of Jamaica. The implicit thrust in his announcement is that his followers believe Manley has neither the will nor the capacity to move towards what they call "full socialism." And they would answer commentators like Carl Stone with the assertion that once Jamaica proclaims itself Marxist-Leninist, they would be able to find a friendly socialist nation willing to bankroll them.

Freely quoting Lenin, friends of the Workers Party like journalist Horace Levy argue that revolutionary societies like Cuba and Mozambique "put bourgeois democracy to shame." Another WP supporter writes a letter to the *News*, and chastizes the PNP for believing the myth

"that they can build socialism alongside capitalism...with the help of imperialists and capitalists." And yet another WP member greets Munroe's announcement by writing that "socialists and communists in our country must be happy and are duty-bound by Marxist-Leninist principles to give the Party their firmist support"—the Workers Party—not Manley's PNP.

Munroe's new communist party has even received some backhanded endorsement from the young and articulate Minister of Culture and Information, Arnold Bertram. A man clearly on the left wing of the PNP, Bertram candidly asserts that "for most of the developing countries," the question of democracy "is theoretical." He regards Cuba, "with all of its weaknesses," as the "most advanced of Caribbean societies." But unlike Manley, who affirms the democratic tradition as a strength, Bertram seems to view political democracy as an unfortunate relic of the years of British colonialism. So he bemoans that Jamaica is not Cuba, and says reluctantly, "You take what you have and you see what you can do with it."

Bertram even takes pride in the formation of the Workers Party, viewing it as a repudiation of the British influence. It will be "the first Marxist-Leninist party in the English-speaking Caribbean," he states proudly, and that it took so long to be formed speaks "eloquently about the influence of British parliamentary politics on the colonial structure."

SO MANLEY SEEMS BUFFETED between those who favor a Leninist model of authoritarian socialism for Jamaica on his left and the right-wing opposition that seeks a firm movement away from the democratic path of social change. For the while, sections of the left stay in his camp, since they endorse Manley's neutralist foreign policy, and his attempt to gain equity for the Third World by forging a united anti-imperialist front. But Manley is careful to tell his comrades, as he did to the PNP executive last January, that while they are engaged in "an anti-imperialist struggle," Jamaica cannot "be at war with developed countries." Opposing those who favor waging class war within Jamaica, Manley defined the goal as one of persuading the "middle class that its real long-term interests lie with the working class and not with the oligarchy." Reminding his comrades that they are "not located on the bank of some Eastern European river," Manley voiced strong opposition to those who favored "violent revolution" or who proposed to "govern through dictatorship of a proletariat expressed through a military army that has been created by that revolution."

And speaking to the PNP conference on Sept. 18, Manley answered his left

flank with a blunt statement: "the only place you can get the foreign exchange you need now is the IMF." Urging production for export and the creation of a disciplined productivity on the part of workers, Manley explained that the IMF was part of a world economic structure, "and if you don't change the world economic system, you cannot change the IMF."

Jamaica's travail raises an important question for Americans, and more directly for the Carter administration. Will the U.S. help foot the bill for conditions that allow Jamaica to advance towards socialism and maintain democracy, or will it reinforce the official wisdom of Western capitalism, which means imposition of the kind of austerity that produces reduced living standards while it guarantees profits—the type of "sound" banking practice that all but insures the victory of authoritarianism?

I put this question to John Maxwell, who was not sure that Jamaica would be allowed to continue on a path of democratic socialism. Seeing his nation as a kettle whose top was ready to blow, Maxwell stated a simple truth: "It would seem to me that it would be in the U.S.' interest to help Michael demonstrate that...a mixed economy with democratic socialism is possible, rather than provoking a Batista takeover, or what happened in Chile, with the inevitable explosion that would wipe out all the reform. The more pressure put on Jamaica the better it is for the Russians, for Castro, for anybody who is an extreme socialist of one kind or another. Because they'll say, I told you so, it's got to happen."

Referring to the new communist party, Maxwell observed that if "the Americans decide to destroy the Manley government, by action or inaction...they're waiting to pick up the socialist pieces."

In its six years in office, Michael Manley and the PNP have accomplished a great deal. Land has been leased to sugar-cane workers, a tax on bauxite brought in new foreign exchange, a nation-wide minimum wage was established, equal pay for women legislated, and a massive literacy campaign undertaken. The result of these moderate reforms, introduced by a government with a socialist vision, is a sense among the average black Jamaicans that Jamaica is now their own country. But the ability of the PNP to move forward, even to maintain the advances already won, is in great doubt.

Jamaicans like to think that the Carter administration will come to their rescue. The U.S. granted Jamaica a \$63 million loan package after Manley's visit with Carter in December 1977, but the amount was cut by the OMB three days after Manley's return to Jamaica. Jamaica is not eligible to receive AID loans, since the prerequisite for these funds prohibits issuance of direct loans that could ease the balance-of-payments crisis and give them monetary support. Given the climate in Congress, and the general lack of sympathy for nations whose people are attempting to move towards socialism, it is highly improbable that such funding would come from the U.S.

The prognosis, therefore, is not cheery. It is likely that the Manley government will suffer the fate of the Frondizi administration in Argentina, which was toppled as a result of similar IMF-imposed budgets. And like Argentina, the result could well be the succession of a rightward-leaning government, headed by the conservative Seaga. Such a regime, of course, would be greatly favored by American capital, which then would be more willing to offer Jamaica funds. Or, should the Marxist-Leninists' faint hopes materialize, Manley would be replaced by an authoritarian government of the left, which would take the steps necessary to move Jamaica to what they see as "real" socialism. Either alternative would be an unnecessary tragedy. American socialists should do what they can to offer the PNP and its Prime Minister Michael Manley fraternal support. Judging from the reception accorded our small delegation at the PNP convention, it is more than appreciated. ■

Ronald Radosh, an ITT sponsor and a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, is editor of *The New Cuba: Paradoxes and Potentials*.





# LETTERS

## ONE WORLD

**T**HANKS FOR COVERING GAY POLITICS June 13, but the fine coverage and analysis did not go far enough.

Speaking of fraying ties between the gay and black communities in San Francisco, Michael Singer reported a certain Rev. Hector Lopez as saying, "We felt the tragedy of the killings but it involved their world, not ours." Rev. Lopez is dead wrong. Dan White, the killer of Mayor Moscone and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk, had campaigned on a Law-and-Order platform and had promised to "eradicate the malignancies that blight our city." The malignancies included "radicals, social deviates, incorrigibles."

White proceeded to eradicate some himself.

The Right is good at making connections: they have a working coalition of racists, sexists and homophobes. Lopez should recall what Pastor Niemoller said of the Nazis: they picked off communists, but I wasn't a communist; they picked off Jews, but I wasn't a Jew; then they began picking off folks like me, but then it was too late.

In short, the right makes one world of "you're" and "I'm not."

It's too bad that blacks in San Francisco were outraged by Supervisor Harry Britt comparing Harvey Milk to King. If Singer reports accurately, the outrage sprang from "the equation of sexual freedom with a struggle for social justice."

The gay struggle is more than a struggle for sexual freedom, though it is curiously puritanical to think that sexual freedom is not part of social justice. It is a struggle to stop courts from kidnapping our kids, it's a struggle to stop cops from entrapping and snugging us, to stop gangs from killing us, to stop schools from lying to us about sex, to stop shrinks and priests from bleeding us, to stop employers from firing and refusing to hire us, to stop landlords from evicting and refusing to rent to us, to stop insults when we hold hands in public.

—Scott Tucker  
Philadelphia, PA

## LAWRENCE WELK IN BLACKFACE

**N**EVER IN MY LIFE HAVE I READ A more superficial series of articles than the four articles on Disco (*ITT*, June 6).

All four authors are unanimous in celebrating the latest hype foisted on the American public by the commercial entertainment corporations. They all buy the same package that Disco breaks down the class, race, and sexual distinctions between black/white, straight/gay, middle-class/working-class: all are equal on the dance floor. Shards of pluralist democracy: the reality is that the "equality" fostered by Disco is simply attraction to a mindless, homogenized pablum that submerges all real class, racial, and sexual differences in pursuit of the almighty dollar.

Disco music is not black music. For example, Donna Summer's relationship to blackness is simply one of genetic accident. Although she is probably better known among blacks than M.B. King, and certainly makes more money, she has more in common with the reality of the black experience in America than Lawrence Welk. Welk, like all of the white dancing acts,

appeals to large numbers of white people who would like to forget their heritage and "integrate" themselves into the Great American White Alliance, only doing it in blackface. Disco's white appeal is still to the white affluent teenager who buy

most of the records. The blacks, Hispanics, and gays along for the ride are just there to provide local color, and allow the white middle class to feel "fun-ky."

Let's face it: musically, Disco is garbage. After the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Bob Seger, Bob Dylan, the Eagles, Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, the Who, and the many other performers of the 1960s and 1970s who showed that Rock could be creative, are we now to return to the 1970s equivalent of Chubby Checker and the Four Seasons? Disco *does* suck.

—George Fish  
Fort Wayne, Ind.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

**I**AM NOT AN EXPERT ON THE ROSENBERG case, but I have considerable experience with the methods and standards of historical research. And judged by these standards and their own evidence and arguments, the article by Sol Stern and Ronald Radosh on the Rosenberg case is totally unconvincing, a collection of sweeping generalizations based on hearsay, conjecture, and circumstantial and tainted evidence.

Despite the flamboyant language and claims of the article and accompanying editorial and cover ("Julius was a Spy"), certain facts need to be emphasized. First, the article offers no evidence whatsoever concerning the "crime" for which the Rosenbergs were executed—atomic spying during the World War II. The only thing it proves conclusively is that David and Ruth Greenglass were totally unreliable witnesses, a fact that seriously undermines the already weak case of the government.

Second, the confident portrayal of Julius Rosenberg as "the hub of an espionage network" after the war is based on a series of inferences concerning the activities of Rosenberg's friends, activities like car rides, choice of roommates, and "disappearances" which are consistent with other interpretations and explanations. The hard fact is that not a single act of espionage is mentioned in the entire article, nor do the authors even hint at the kind of espionage (atomic spying, military intelligence, etc.) Rosenberg was supposedly engaged in after the war.

Third, the authors rely heavily on the memos of Rosenberg's prison-mate and FBI informer Jerome Tartakow, to whom Rosenberg allegedly confessed his crimes. Yet, every historian who has used the reports of such agents and informers (and I have used them myself in two published works) knows that they always blend accurate and specific minor details with a web of questionable allegations and spurious contentions, geared to the conclusions the informer thinks his employers want to reach. This is why competent prosecutors, like competent historians, take these "revelations" with a grain of salt, and are reluctant to introduce them in open court where they must stand the scrutiny of cross-examination. The authors write that the confirmation of their theories comes "from Julius Rosenberg himself." In reality, they derive from an FBI agent whose reports and allegations are open to serious question, and who was not put on the stand at the trial. No important assertion of Tartakow is confirmed by independent evidence in the article.

Thus, the *New Republic's* editorial assertion that "The Truth" has now been told is hardly justified by the article. Nor is the editorial's suggestion that those who continue to maintain the Rosenbergs' innocence and those who condemn the trial and the Cold War atmosphere within which it took place,

are simply attempting to make heroes of the "dishonorable" Old Left. Such intellectual bullying is unworthy of the *New Republic*, just as the article itself is unworthy of the canons of historical scholarship.

—Eric Foner  
Professor of History  
City University of New York

## BLACK MACHO

**O**N M. RON KARENGA'S REVIEW OF Michele Wallace's book (*ITT*, June 20).

The outraged scorn of many white males of the left around a decade ago when white women began to point out the pervasive sexism from which males benefit is now being matched by the outraged disdain of some black males as black women begin to point out that they have also been exploited. Many white males of the left complained that feminists were giving support to capitalism by not exempting its opponents from their criticisms; some black males now denounce as aiders and abettors of white oppression the feminists who question black male justice.

Sisters, black and white, can recognize each other's pain, and the political implications of such pain, where many men cannot, or do not wish to.

Too many black males have rejected feminism as a white phenomenon, on the mistaken assumption that "their" women were different. Michele Wallace didn't turn the civil rights movement into Black Macho. She is describing the perceptions of a young black woman, acknowledging the extent to which they were shaped by a white TV culture, but providing massive evidence of the extent to which many black men turned the issues into a struggle for "manhood," including "manhood" in a sexual, and sexist, sense.

—Virginia Held  
New York

## A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

**M**ANNING MARABLE'S PIECE ON A. Philip Randolph (*ITT*, June 20) contains serious omissions and distortions. Worst of all, Marable contends that Randolph's "creative contributions to the struggle for black equality ended" after World War II. Either Marable is unaware of Randolph's central role in initiating and organizing the 1963 march on Washington, or else he does not consider that massive display of militant black political power a "creative contribution."

Similarly, Marable overlooks the fact that Randolph persistently challenged racism within the ranks of organized labor throughout the years following the war and the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955. For his efforts, he was duly rewarded in 1961 when the AFL-CIO Executive Council passed a resolution censuring him. Randolph, even in his so-called "conservative" years, was not quiet or docile.

As to Marable's charge that Randolph "capitulated to the logic of extreme anti-Communism," may I remind the readers of *ITT* that Randolph opposed communism not because it was too radical, but because its proponents in the U.S. betrayed the cause of racial equality whenever the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union dictated "moderation." In this regard, Marable correctly points out that "the threat of 50,000 angry black workers picketing the White House induced F.D.R. to sign the Fair Employment Practices Executive Order 8802" in 1941. But Marable fails to note that the Communist Party, supposedly a radical organization, denounced Randolph and other militant blacks as Nazi fifth columnists. For the Communists, segregation in the army, federal government, and unions was just fine during World War II. Randolph had the courage to challenge racism consistently and relentlessly.

Marable seems to believe that the politics of Randolph's later years diverged from his early radicalism. But Randolph

resolutely clung to a democratic socialism of his youth. He was not, as Marable asserts, "a defender of the conservative status quo." Quite the contrary, he died a committed socialist, a militant trade unionist, and a determined civil rights activist.

—Michael Kerper  
New York

## AN OPEN LETTER TO JOAN BAEZ

**A**S A DELEGATION JUST RETURNED from Vietnam we feel it necessary to respond to Joan Baez's criticism of human rights there. We believe her campaign is based on false information. In a letter sent to solicit signatures for her Open Letter to the Government of Vietnam, Baez used as her chief source of information Doan Van Toai, a Vietnamese now living in Paris, who is also the main source of the publications referred to in her ad. His allegations are untrue; we seriously question his motives and reliability. For example, we met and spoke with two of the people he claims were imprisoned for signing a statement critical of the government's policy on human rights. Dr. Pham Bieu Tam and Ton That Duong Ky had not heard of the statement. They were shocked by inquiries about their well-being from friends abroad.

During the visit we met with religious leaders as well as intellectuals, professionals, journalists, farmers, and others. Father Truong Ba Can, Editor of the Catholic newspaper in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) stated categorically that "the Church is free to carry out its religious activities." He was distressed to see that some of the signers of the ad are religious leaders whom he respects and has met—he is preparing a letter to them in response to the false allegations in the ad.

In Ben Tre Province we visited a re-education camp and were impressed by the humane and constructive program of reconciliation. A Vietnamese-speaking French resident described similar conditions at five other re-education camps he had visited. He was unescorted and able to speak freely with the detainees. He compared the unspeakable and inhumane treatment of political prisoners under former governments of Vietnam with the present policy of helping inmates to reintegrate into the society and rejoin their families.

The Vietnamese share the worldwide concern about the refugees. Their new policy of permitting 10,000 legal exits per month was adopted in response to requests by Church World Service and the United Nations. Among those who are leaving are former merchants, some who worked for the U.S. military and AID, some who disagree politically with the new government, Hoa people (Vietnamese of Chinese descent), and those who cannot adjust to the present austere living conditions. There are a number of reasons for the exodus, but one of the United Nations representatives we had discussions with said, "If Vietnam were to receive sufficient economic aid, the refugee problem would disappear."

As Americans we feel the responsibility for rebuilding a land that our country's forces devastated. Only by normalizing relations with Vietnam and contributing to Vietnam's efforts to reconstruct, can we in the United States finally put the war behind us.

—David W. Stickney  
Head of delegation, member  
of the American Friends  
Service Committee

—Mary Clarke  
Women Strike for Peace,  
National Women's Political Caucus

—Beatrice Eisman  
Executive Board of the U.S.-Vietnam  
Friendship Association of Northern  
California

—Linda Garrett  
Executive Board of the U.S.-Vietnam  
Friendship Association of Northern  
California

—Pat Reil, IHM  
Professor of Philosophy at  
Immaculate Heart College.

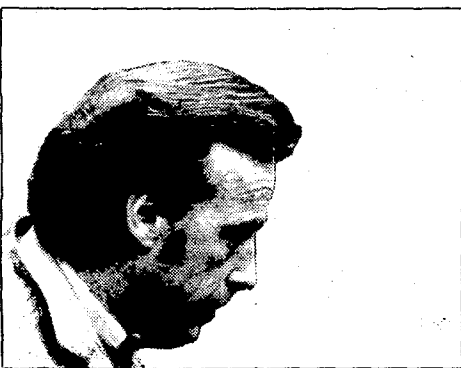


HANS KONING

## American Arrogance: When will it ever end?

**WE LIVE IN FAST AND** faddy times. We have brief flirtations with new and unused attitudes and countries, but as a rule we quickly return to our traditional emotional starting points or as near to them as makes little difference. World events or rather the way in which these are reported and interpreted, help us to the snug feeling that we aren't so bad after all, are in fact the nearest to perfection among very imperfect nations.

Thus that slight and only spotty moral hangover from our ten years of war in and on Indochina was conveniently chased by the discovery that after our departure the natives went on fighting their own wars. The uncomfortable realization that our Shah wasn't considered as much of a prince by his own people as by us, is cured by the reports of the drumhead trials there which show us that those Iranians make a benighted country anyway. (In the self-same way the Havana trials twenty years ago helped us get rid of the worrisome idea that Castro was a better man than our Cuban Shah, Batista).



Our vague guilt about the misery of the Third World in general seems to have got lost by the wayside when crude oil went over \$14 the barrel, and that North-South dialogue we heard so much of has once more changed into the monologue of our self-righteousness. In New York, Freedom House (a non-profit organization, naturally) is listing the countries of the world on how free they are, that is to say, how much like us, and is flunking most of them.

As we restart our now semi-permanent election campaigns, the vote-getting ticket is reportedly going to be, let's be tougher, in fact let's be heroic, with the ginks and gooks of this world who deserve all they

get. Columnist Joseph Kraft informs us that the leaders of the advanced nations are too weak for our good because they listen to too many opinions, and William Pfaff invites Asians to visit Switzerland for a salutary lesson on how to shape up.

In fact, we once more measure the wide world with our own standards, and with sublime if not criminal arrogance, with that hubris that may doom people and peoples, we forget not only that those standards are somewhat motley, but also that we reached them (such as they are) after centuries of atrocities and greed perpetrated against that greater part of the world we now so coolly sit in judgment upon.

Starting with our primal hero Columbus who drove whole nations of Caribbeans to suicide and strung up the Arawak Indians over slow fires in rows of thirteen (this in honor of Christ and his twelve apostles) down to General Westmoreland who if he didn't get Indochina quite back into the Stone Age cannot be faulted for not trying, we—the western christian civilization of which we are heir, part, and now leader—have through history seldom shown either mercy or decency except when it didn't cost us anything.

In the Congo (now Zaire) the crimes of King Leopold I of democratic little Belgium easily match those of Pol Pot, and the number of Leopold's victims in his need for more and more rubber is said to have reached ten million. Parliamentary, free, Britain built much of her industry on the capital from the Liverpool slave trade, systematically destroyed the textile factories of Bengal, and created a series of famines there right up to the year 1943.

France, bulwark of humanistic life and thought, had tens of thousands of Algeri-

ans shot when they rose up in 1945 and killed a million of them in the ensuing war of independence—this, by the way, after the Allies had just liberated France from the German occupation, an event that led to the executions or lynchings of thousands of French collaborators by their countrymen.

The lesser breeds and creeds on this planet, now more politely called the Third World, are assuredly not better than we are. They can match us nicely in cruelty and greed, though not in the logic, iron determination and, of late, subtlety, with which we bring these to bear. That we gave them modern medicine and more recently television and computers, does not change the reality of history: They didn't descend upon us but we on them, and we destroyed, and if we have the chance and the need, go on destroying, their social fabric.

And as those poor ignorant heathen, or fanatical Moslems, superstitious Buddhists, or crass Materialists, tottering from centuries of exploitation, try to pull themselves together, try to shake off the various tyrants foisted on them by us or by contagions from their diseased past, as they try to shape a history of their own after a centuries' long blackout, we are greatly perturbed that they don't seem to have our spotless systems of justice and democracy at the ready.

And we wonder, do they really want to do whatever they're doing or did Moscow maybe put them up to it and shouldn't we in that case send in the troops and restore stability? But if we don't, why can't they at least for Chrissakes go to Switzerland and learn how to run a country? ■

*Hans Koning is a New York writer. His latest novel, America Made Me, is due for publication this fall.*

GOLDSMITH, WEISS, &amp; WILMOTH

## Socialism comes at last to urban planning in U.S.

**WITHIN THE COMING YEAR A NEW ITEM MAY BE** added to the socialist lexicon: an organization of socialist planners. The decision to form such an organization was made at a conference on radical planning theory and practice held at Cornell University on April 26-29. Attended by 280 academics, planning students, professional planners, and community activists, the conference voted unanimously to work toward the formation of an ongoing, left-wing planners' organization. The choice planners face between regressive streamlining and progressive provision of services to meet social needs has come up frequently in the history of American planning.

Who are "planners" in the American context? Generally they are people with backgrounds in economics, law, architecture, engineering, social work, public administration, public health, and other fields. They draw up plans, regulations, and evaluations for land-use controls and real estate development, for environmental protection, housing, neighborhood organization, and health care administration. They also plan regional development, tourism and transportation.

In the past planners have been concerned primarily with physical and technical problems of the community, but in recent years political and social issues have become more important. At the same time a growing minority of planners have become aware of the need for programs and organizing strategies which support the struggles of working people, women, and minorities so that their economic and social needs can be met.

Historically, planning has served mostly to benefit local, regional, and national business groups. It began in the late 19th century in the U.S., in response to mushrooming urban problems, as part of a larger movement to reform city governments and take graft out of the hands of city hall, and in reaction to the publicity

Jacob Riis gave to slums and urban decay. Early city planning was also influenced by the Beaux Arts atmosphere that surrounded the Chicago Exposition of 1899. The early dominant figures in planning for over half a century were interested in cleaning, beautifying and rationalizing American cities.

This kind of planning, this view of the city as a physical mechanism with mechanical needs, was best suited to benefit downtown merchants, land developers, auto makers, and the construction industry. The best example of this planning was the dismantling of literally scores of profitable and popular municipal street-car systems, making way for the more profitable motor vehicle industries.

The market-serving nature of planning, through massive subsidies for highway construction, suburbanization of industry and housing, and renewal of downtown business property, has been constant ever since. With the advertised recession that is expected shortly, planners will be called upon even more to forge weapons to serve private interests, to protect property and privileged neighborhoods.

Sponsorship by powerful corporate interests has meant that policies such as urban renewal often are harmful to the interests of less advantaged groups in the society. Planners wishing to assist these people in meeting their needs have found it difficult to do so within the established

professional structures and have moved to work more actively with the community to build political pressure and alternative centers of power.

During the 1960s and the great upheaval in our nation's ghetto communities, progressive city planners urged their colleagues to resist the large financial interests that dominate urban development, and instead become advocates for the oppressed. Local groups, often staffed by "advocate planners" who either diverted time away from city hall or found federal funds available to neighborhoods, sprang up in cities to fight against housing demolition, highway construction, and inadequate programs for residential relocation. At the national level, met largely with hostility or stony silence, the progressives walked out of an American Institute of Planners convention in the mid-60s and formed an organization called Planners for Equal Opportunity. PEO officially disbanded in 1976, but many of its members participated in the formation of a new group, the Planners Network, in the summer of 1975.

A small conference at Rutgers University in 1977 was followed a year later by a somewhat larger gathering at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. At VPI the participants became enthusiastic about the prospect of building a broader base among radical planners. Their efforts in organizing the 1979 conference succeeded in attracting four times as many

people to Cornell.

The theme of the Cornell conference was emerging citizen/labor coalitions and progressive planning roles in the context of budget cutbacks and rising inflation and unemployment. This stimulated a great deal of discussion about what could be done to fight the "cutback planning" trend and support the growth of left and socialist alternatives.

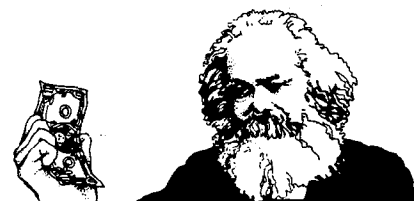
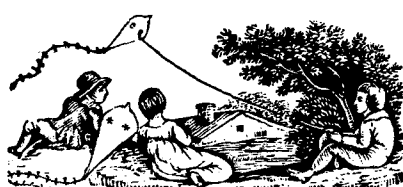
Cornell conferees concluded that one solution was to form an organization, with a strong commitment to participation by women and non-white planning activists, to pool our skills and enhance our ability to conduct educational work and link up with community services. Both within the universities and within the ranks of the various professional associations, they will attempt to broaden our base and increase their numbers by offering planners a concrete, practical alternative to planning within the constraints and guidelines set by corporate domination.

For more information, contact Chester Hartman, 360 Elizabeth Street, San Francisco, CA 94114, or William Goldsmith, Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

William W. Goldsmith is professor of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University. Marc Weiss and David Wilmoth are members of the National Urban Policy Collective at Berkeley, California.

## SUMMER VACATION!

*In These Times* will not publish the last week of July and the first week in August. Our issue dated July 18-24 will be followed by the issue dated August 8-14.



### 2000 BOOKS FOR A BUCK

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# PERSPECTIVES

## New era for socialism: beyond double standard

By Bogdan Denitch

**THE ATTEMPT TO RECONSTITUTE A BROAD DEMOCRATIC socialist movement in the United States occurs under peculiar circumstances. The fragments of the previous old and new left movements still remain, with the political heritage they bring to contemporary politics. Broadly speaking, the most significant old left formation in the United States since the 1930's has been the Communist Party-USA, which at its peak organized over 120,000 members in its ranks and held sway over a variety of organizations involving perhaps as many as a million members. It was also by far the most significant organized explicitly radical organization operating within the American trade union movement.**

Compared with the CP, the other organizations since World War II have not grown beyond the size of a sect although some, like the Socialist Party USA, had historic claims to being the representative of the broad democratic left. At no point since World War II did any non-CP socialist organization reach as many as 10,000 members.

The effect of this relationship of forces was to make the CP and its periphery the most massive source of recruitment for all progressive and radical activities in the years after World War II, and for the CP heritage, sometimes in attenuated form, to be the most significant usable past available to new leftists in the student anti-war movement.

Of course, by the time the new left developed, the CP was organizationally shattered, and while retaining the largest of the organizations, was merely a shadow of its old self. Nevertheless, it had left behind a tradition and certain norms with which, in one way or another, some kind of a reckoning had to be made.

### Archaic fascination

A part of this heritage consisted of a hostility to the social democracies in advanced countries and a general unfocused sympathy with various Third World regimes that claim to be socialist. This sentiment continues to be present today even among those new left activists who have nothing in common with the CP and who are quite critical of the practice and reality of Soviet-style socialism. Somehow it is as if the "real" socialism and the "real" parties are those which come out of the Communist tradition, while the parties of the Socialist International are almost beyond the pale.

This can be seen in the preoccupation of much of the American left with internal disputes within the Communist movement, the fascination with Eurocommunism combined with the mild hostility toward or contempt for European socialism, the repeated searching for a "real" socialist country or experience, ranging as it did from the Soviet Union to Cuba, to China and, for some, even to Cambodia and Albania and North Vietnam, but always within the orbit of the parties and movements that come out of the Leninist tradition (however modified).

Even as broad a journal as **IN THESE TIMES** gives more detailed coverage to the developments within the Communist movements of Europe than to those within the much larger and more significant Socialist parties, and devotes what seems an inordinate amount of attention to the debates between China and Vietnam, and Vietnam and Cambodia.

There is something peculiarly archaic about this fascination because, whatever one's assessment of the situation in the

Third World or Western Europe, it seems reasonably clear that a sentimental preoccupation with or attachment to a Communist past and a Third World present, are both inapplicable to the present strategic problems facing the American Left.

The problem in the United States hardly seems to be one that can be expressed in terms of the old dichotomy between reformist and revolutionary socialism, or for that matter, between one-party regimes calling themselves socialist and advanced welfare states governed by socialist or social democratic parties. One of the burdens that the American left has is precisely this gap between the real possibilities and the desire of many of the remaining activists of the new left.

### The basic questions

The question we have to ask is, What would or should a broad democratic socialist movement in the United States look like? What would be its closest organizational and political analogies? What are the political tasks which it would have, and how would it relate to other movements in advanced industrial countries?

My own argument is that, with appropriate modifications flowing from the American political tradition and with a sensitivity to the specific traditions from which many thousands of activists and participants in such a movement would come, that movement in the United States would belong within the framework of the present Socialist International.

This is not to say that it would be uncritical of the failures of social democracy when it dealt with theoretical questions, and that it would not seek to stress themes and demands which are characteristic of left rather than right-wing socialists in Europe, but simply to locate the range of politics and, therefore, sympathies of such a movement within what is broadly conceived of as democratic socialism.

Now, it is true, in specific cases in Europe, that the democratic socialist tradition may well be represented by a Communist party as well as if not better than by the local Socialist Party. I personally regard the Communist parties of Italy and Spain as being democratic mass workers organizations, whose specific historical tradition alone justifies those parties' self-exclusion from the Socialist International.

### Socialist International

But, even there, in these exceptional cases, one can note that the Italian Communist trade unions have broken with the Communist international trade union federation and operate as a part of the socialist-dominated Western European trade union grouping. In point of fact, on most matters of general strategy, the Italian and Spanish Communists are indistinguishable from currents which exist within the Socialist International already.

The specific historical experience that leads these parties to maintain an independent existence is in part due to the

special role and regard that those parties have in their own societies, and not to a desire to maintain a separate existence for the sake of positing a movement in competition or as an alternative to the existing parties of the Socialist International. In Spain, for that matter, the stated goal of the CP is to move toward the formation of a Spanish party of labor, which would be affiliated with the Socialist International and which would include both of the present mass workers parties.

The Socialist International and its parties organize at this time the vast majority of the European working class, as well as the vast majority of middle class technicians and young people who regard themselves as socialists. Within that framework are found both right- and left-wing socialist views and, more to the point, it is within that framework that most of the more novel strategic and theoretical analysis is occurring. It is, after all, in those parties, not the CPs, that a socialism based on decentralization, workers control, and an attack on the central state bureaucracies exists.

This fact has been noted not only by traditional apologists for social democracy but in most European countries by groupings, parties and individuals of the revolutionary Marxist left who find the broad, loose and democratic life of the Socialist party far more congenial to internal debate and the development of new strategies than the CPs. The European analog of community activists, feminists, anti-war militants, and fighters for the democratization of the overbureaucratized centralized states, when organized by the left, is found in the Socialist and not the Communist parties.

### Old splits obsolete

It is precisely the absence of a tradition of a total world view and a detailed worked-out program within the Socialist parties that is an asset today. To put it in a slightly different way, what makes a party Marxist is not whether or not it has that in its constitution and bylaws, but is

determined by the activities, program and the social base of those parties.

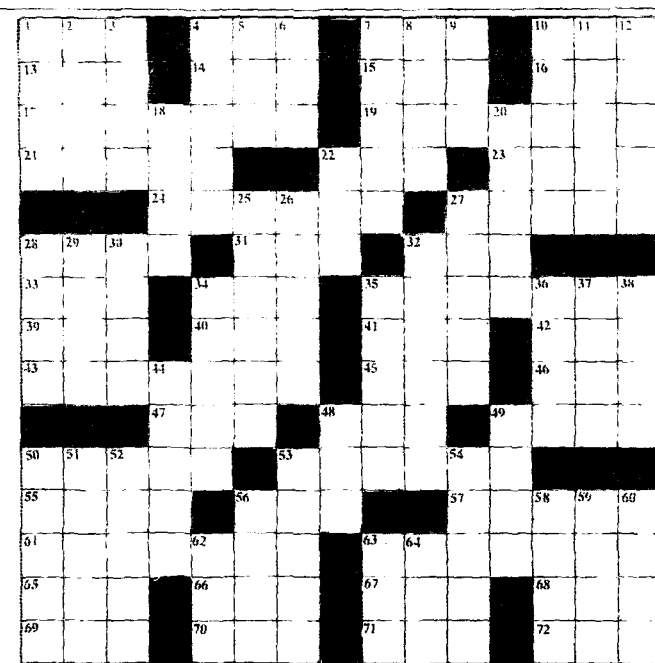
Given the realities of modern industrial societies, the whole issue of reform and revolution has been changed beyond recognition. The present issue within the mass working class parties of Europe is not whether the party calls itself "revolutionary" or "reformist." It is, rather, whether the party is committed to a fundamental transformation, no matter how gradually, of its society and economy to socialism, or merely to administering an advanced welfare state with no further goals beyond minor incremental changes in the direction of egalitarianism.

The problem with many of the social democratic parties is not that they are reformist but rather that they have ceased to be even reformist. Thus, much of what passes for the "left" wing of the British Labour Party or the German social democracy represents traditional socialist reformism, while the right wing has even given up those aspirations.

This dichotomy within Socialist politics is the cause of the crisis of present-day European socialism and leads to the present immobility of European societies. It is probably also the reason that, despite the enormous opportunities that have opened up in Europe in the past half decade, the left has not been able to advance but has, on the contrary, on some places even suffered setbacks.

The stale, old program of classic post-World War II European social democracy neither inspires the activists nor reaches out to the masses of the new, better educated workers entering the work force. As a consequence, a new revival of left-wing energies and programs is occurring within these parties, pushing them steadily to the left.

*This is the first of a two-part series. Bogdan Denitch, a professor of sociology specializing in international affairs at the Graduate School, City University of New York, is the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's representative to the Socialist International for 1975.*



## '78 Newspaper Strike

By David Mermelstein

### ACROSS

- 1 Hotel
- 4 Literary initials
- 7 Small child
- 10 Supreme being
- 13 Louis XIV, e.g.
- 14 Linden or March
- 15 de France
- 16 Precedes dos
- 17 Pressman's president
- 19 More powdery
- 21 Winter weather forecast
- 22 Hugo's Miserables
- 23 Gymnast Korbet
- 24 Gives lip to
- 27 Bike component
- 28 Struck!
- 31 Pub drink
- 32 Exxon product
- 33 Abner
- 34 Greek letter
- 35 Sociologist Talcott
- 39 Peer Gynt's mother
- 40 McGovern did it in 1972
- 41 Deceased Greek, familiarly
- 42 Chinese Communist

### DOWN

- 2 Xmas carol
- 3 Baseball team
- 4 Greek letter
- 5 Dejected
- 6 Bridge player, Culbertson
- 7 Struck!
- 8 Spanish cheers
- 9 Drink
- 10 28 Across was also struck by newspaper
- 11 Soviet lake
- 12 N.Y. hotel: site of negotiations
- 18 Eggs sometimes found here
- 20 Yellowish deposit
- 22 Confederate general
- 25 African desert
- 26 Move furtively
- 27 City of glamour
- 28 Conception
- 29 River flowing to the Seine
- 30 Seattle
- 32 Parking area
- 34 Angry
- 35 Diminishes
- 36 German king
- 37 Struck!
- 38 Something put
- 44 Canadian territory
- 48 Considered mightier than a sword
- 49 Alight
- 50 Variety of coffee
- 51 Orally
- 52 Wisconsin Representative
- 53 Airplane personage
- 54 "Give me your \_\_\_\_\_, your poor..."
- 56 Red with meat, white with fish
- 58 Mayor of 43 Across
- 59 Resound
- 60 Korean tyrant
- 62 Coquettish
- 63 Alfred E. Neuman's magazine
- 64 AP competitor

### Solution to previous puzzle:





## EUROCOMMUNISM AND THE USSR



# Leaving the nest is part of life

This is part two of Louis Menashe's two-part series on Eurocommunism and the USSR, excerpted from a chapter in the forthcoming *THE POLITICS OF EUROCOMMUNISM: SOCIALISM IN TRANSITION*, edited by Carl Boggs and David Plotke. The book is scheduled for publication this summer by South End Press.

By Louis Menashe

## III. The Soviet Response

Soviet reactions to the Eurocommunist challenge have been inconsistent. There has been an ideological counter-offensive, but not a very loud one. Once or twice, as when the Soviet weekly, *New Times*, attacked Santiago Carrillo and Manuel Azcarate, Moscow dipped a toe into polemical waters only to shrink back and extend a reconciliatory hand. All in all, the Soviet response has been modulated, less, one suspects, out of calculation than from uncertainty and indecision.

The Soviet leadership cannot be happy with a situation in which criticism of the USSR is integral to the new identities of the Western Communist parties. Yet Moscow no longer has either the moral authority or an international instrument for disciplining dissident parties or tendencies. Besides, the Western parties are determined to resist. And they have some support in Eastern Europe. The Yugoslavs and Rumanians, and, less prominently, the Hungarians, have, for different reasons, backed the idea of autonomy for all Communist parties.

Faced with implacable Chinese hostility on their Eastern flank, the Soviets are chary of provoking further enmity and discord in Europe. A full polemic with the Western parties would, in any event, run greater dangers than the exchanges with the Chinese. From the Soviet point of view—perhaps we can understand this only in retrospect—the Chinese were ideological pushovers. Though they momentarily put the Soviets on the defensive with their accusations of revolutionary timidity and big-power chauvinism, the Chinese threw it all away by adulating Stalin, by making a virtue of economic backwardness, by their Mao cult and the peculiarities of the Cultural Revolution, not to mention its confused aftermath, which has been a succession of arcane power struggles and foreign-policy dalliances with forces of reaction around the world.

By contrast, if Moscow were to enter the lists against the Eurocommunist parties, difficult ideological currents might

be unleashed. Unquestionably, the Western parties would get deep sympathetic responses in Eastern Europe and possibly in the USSR. The process of de-Stalinization in the Eastern bloc, which periodically takes explosive forms, might be enormously accelerated if the Eurocommunist critique of the primary contradiction in the USSR and Eastern Europe were subjected to full-scale debate. The Russians prefer to deflect or cloud the issues with ideological and rhetorical devices, while being careful to remain friendly with the Western parties, one or two or which might soon turn up in governing coalitions.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in Berlin, June 1976, brought the first phase of the simmering conflict between the Soviet party and Eurocommunism to a close. The idea for a world congress, the first since 1969, was pushed by Soviet leaders but resisted by the main Western parties until Moscow agreed to a strictly European conference.

On the face of it, the Berlin conference conformed to the pattern of previous international conclaves. There were no oratorical clashes, no splits, no walkouts, and there was a unanimously adopted final document. But the placidity did not conceal deep rifts. Berlinguer, in his—as usual, politely worded—address hit at the very idea of ritualized meetings and the monolithism they imply: "This meeting of ours is not the meeting of an international Communists body, which does not exist and could not exist....Ours is a free meeting among autonomous and equal parties, which does not seek to lay down guidelines for, or bind, any of our parties. And it is important that this debate is open and public....On various questions, including some important ones, our positions are different," Berlinguer said. His address contained a short summary of the Eurocommunist position as conforming to conditions of advanced capitalism, where the fight "for a socialist society....has at its foundation the affirmation of the value of the individual and collective freedoms and their guarantee, the principles of the secular, non-ideological nature of the State and its democratic organization, the plurality of political parties and the possibility of alternation of government majorities, the autonomy of the trade unions, religious freedom, freedom of expression, of culture and the arts and sciences."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Spanish, French, British, and Swedish parties, with Tito and Ceausescu echoing the ideas of complete equality and mutual

respect among the parties. On the Soviet side, much attention at the conference and in later official statements centered on "proletarian internationalism." The charge that this term is a cover for Soviet hegemony was easily deflected by Brezhnev with a simple denial. Some people, said Brezhnev at the conference, "fear that behind calls to strengthen internationalist ties uniting Communists, there is a desire to recreate some kind of an organizational centre....nobody is proposing the idea of establishing such a centre."

In the absence of direct polemical exchanges, one must look for the lines of division according to the use of non-use of totem terms. From this angle, the conference was a victory for the Eurocommunists. The final document records no rallying to "proletarian internationalism" (instead: "internationalist, comradely and voluntary co-operation and solidarity"); no "Marxism-Leninism" (instead: "the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin"); and no call to combat "anti-Sovietism" (instead: warning about the imperialist uses of "anti-communism"). Withal, however, the conference has to be judged a polite stand-off. The Soviets got their meeting, a final, unanimously approved document, and approval for the main lines of their foreign policy, including detente, the Helsinki accords, and so on. Above all, they got a ceremonial show of unity and avoided a full-scale debate.

A new phase began after the Berlin conference. The Eurocommunists deepened their criticisms of the USSR, while Moscow's return fire alternated from occasional sniping to muffled ideological barrages. So far, it is still a strictly contained battle of cautious maneuvering, with each side anxious to avoid confrontations. Moscow, on the defensive, has used a variety of forms in this campaign, picking diverse opportunities to wage it.

The theme that human rights is anti-socialist bait crops up repeatedly on the Soviet side. A long editorial in *Pravda*, February 12, 1977 argued that "all this fuss over 'human rights' is designed to disorient and split the progressive social and political forces in the capitalist countries and to discredit, by attacking real socialism, the ideas of scientific communism and the political platforms of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all revolutionary movements, in order to bring about a clash between the Western Communist Parties and the ruling parties of the socialist countries."

*Pravda* went on to reassure everyone that, "these days many fraternal Western parties...are giving a severe rebuff to the

organizers of ideological sabotage against socialism." But they could produce only two statements, from the Dutch and Finnish parties.

Moscow frequently prefers to state its case through others. Thus when Michael O'Riordan, general secretary of the Irish Communist Party (staunchly pro-Moscow), paid tribute to the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution—"No other party, no other government has followed the principles of proletarian internationalism as selflessly as the peoples, the party, and the government of the fatherland of Great October"—*Pravda* reciprocated by hailing O'Riordan for his services to some of the eternal verities now under attack. "He has," wrote the Soviet Party organ, "consistently stressed that...it is the duty of every Communist to expose the slanders of the bourgeoisie aimed at blackening the magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union and to firmly oppose anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism."

The Czechs, whose relations with the Eurocommunist parties are at a low point, occupy a prominent position in the ideological battleground. The Czech experiment and the Soviet-bloc invasion stimulated many of the trends emerging as Eurocommunism. "Normalization" in Czechoslovakia, with its wide purges and ongoing suppression of a dissident socialist movement that refuses to die, is a natural matter of attention for Eurocommunists. On the eve of the 10th anniversary of the invasion, *Pravda* cited remarks in *Rude Pravo*, the Czech party organ, castigating certain (unnamed) communist critics in the West for an analysis only somewhat different in form from bourgeois propaganda, and for "joining in attacks on our party and disorienting the toiling masses in their own countries."

For its direct assaults, the Soviet party has singled out the prominent Eurocommunists who mince their words the least in criticizing the USSR, Santiago Carrillo, Manuel Azcarate, and Jean Elleinstein. Elleinstein, in particular, has become a regular target for the columns of *New Times*.

Anti-Sovietism and revisionism—these are the twin themes running through so many of the Soviet and third-party responses at the Eurocommunists. These charges frequently consist of sterile name-calling and hollering boo-words. But there is content to the charges as well. When the Italian party's theoretical organ, *Rinascita*, declared, "The struggle against anti-Sovietism is not the touchstone of proletarian internationalism," it was an open disavowal of the scarcely-questioned duty of all communists to protect and defend the USSR, even if it meant suppressing their better critical judgement. There was a certain logic to this position for much of the last six decades, a logic that incidentally suited the USSR because it gave a blank check of approval to all its policies. If the USSR was under imperialist siege from the Civil War through the Cold War, it seemed the correct political course was to take sides and stick up for the USSR, with all its imperfections. But for the Western parties it turned out to be almost suicidal. In defending one Soviet "imperfection" after another, and by going along with the mummery of equating socialism with what existed in the USSR, they sacrificed their potentially great anti-capitalist appeal and compromised their credibility as fighters for freedom and equality.

That logic has begun to evaporate. Many forces have converged in recent years to account for the change. Among them is the growth of Soviet power. Detente is a tacit recognition of an international balance of power in which existing alignments and borders are respected in Europe. The relaxation of international tensions has partially kicked out from under both imperialism and the Soviet bloc their common platforms of an external menace. Communist parties in the West are now more free to address domestic issues without having to take the endless sidetracks of disavowing the "Soviet threat" and the "international communist conspiracy," or drumming up the USSR's "peace policy." Moreover, the Western public is much more receptive



to socialist ideas and solutions—provided they don't carry Soviet trademarks.

The Soviets want the benefits of détente (trade, technology, de facto recognition of the division of Europe, relief from a burdensome arms budget), but one side effect, the increasingly critical posture of the Western parties, is not acceptable. Moscow can no longer call the faithful into line with scare-talk about imperialism, but it goes on trying by defining criticism of the USSR as "anti-Soviet." This is Moscow's handy way of deflecting issues, and attempting to arouse the old logic and the old sentiments.

A similar argument greeted the publication of Carrillo's book on Eurocommunism. The now famous review in *New Times* set off a mini-crisis between Moscow and the Western parties. Significantly, the review was titled, "Contrary to the Interests of Peace and Socialism in Europe." In other words, Carrillo's book was not judged on its merits as a reconsideration of old problems in the Marxian movement (the state revolution, popular power, political parties) in light of present conditions in Western Europe. Instead, it was diagnosed as transferring the syndrome of anti-Sovietism, splitting the movement, assisting the class enemy, and harming détente.

The Socialist party promptly backed Carrillo, and a high-level delegation of the Italian party went to Moscow to meet with Politburo members. One of the delegates, Bernardino Invernizzi, revealed what was bothering Soviet leaders, and countered with the Italian position. To Soviet charges that the human rights issue was "artificial" and designed to injure détente, the Italians replied that "this problem does exist and is a result of the fact that the problems of developing democracy remain unsolved in the USSR."

When the Soviets noted that the *New Times* articles were directed only at Carrillo's criticisms of the USSR, the Italian delegation replied that "they had an indisputable right to answer, but that it was not a response to this part of the book when they characterized Carrillo as an 'enemy of socialism' and when they wrote that the 'interpretation he gives to Eurocommunism corresponds entirely to the interests of imperialism.' This was an unacceptable condemnation." Macaluso also reported that the Soviet side gave its assurance that it "had no intention of sharpening the polemics with the Spanish CP, or of turning against the other West European CPs." In fact, the meeting ended with a joint communique stressing mutual support of détente and a reaffirming of party autonomies.

In short, another stand-off. Moscow continued to direct little barbs at Carrillo, frequently using statements by the pro-Soviet parties (including the American party) to get across its views. But Carrillo was in Moscow for anniversary celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution, although he was denied the floor at one meeting. The matter went no further.

Not surprisingly, albeit somewhat hypocritically since Moscow had always blessed the reformist politics of the Western parties, Soviet ideologists are attacking from the Left, warning of the perils of revisionism and opportunism, and stressing the militant example of Bolshevism in 1917 or the negative example of Chile in 1973.

Sometimes the writings are pedestrian, repetitious morality tales illustrating how Lenin and the Bolsheviks snatched revolutionary scientific Marxism from the jaws of Menshevism, and how only genuinely Marxist-Leninist parties, bound in proletarian internationalist solidarity with the USSR, can ever hope to combat the contemporary descendants of the revisionists.

In contrast to such arguments, which are bound to stir only yawns in the West, other Soviet studies are thoughtful and sophisticated. Such studies take stock of the transformation of capitalist societies in the West, their complex class formations, the role of political superstructures, and how Marxist revolutionaries can go beyond sectarianism to mass politics. An article in *Pravda* addressed the transition problem in the light of new alignments of class forces and the degree of resistance by the bourgeoisie. The author scorns social-democracy for its sugar-coated—and unfulfilled—promises of socialism through the parliamentary road,

but concedes that the new struggles uniting all the democratic forces opposed to the "state-monopoly system"—"peasants, urban middle strata, the working intelligentsia, students, women"—can bring about working-class majorities in parliaments of several capitalist countries. In such cases, parliaments could be converted into weapons for overcoming the resistance of the exploiting classes and safeguarding the transition to socialism. "It would, however, be naive to think that with a victory in elections the working class and the toilers would obtain a state that would faithfully and justly serve their interests," the author adds, "The real powers in society belong to those who hold the economic heights, the state apparatus, and the army. And those powers belong to the bourgeoisie. To tear away real power from the bourgeoisie is a matter of extraordinary difficulty." Noting that a number of communist parties in Europe and other parts of the world are putting forward transitional programs for socialism based on a "state of democratic union, a block of the left, or anti-monopoly democracy," *Pravda* sounds this warning: "Historical experience has shown that it is impossible to arrive at socialism within the framework of the bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy."

The Chile theme crops up repeatedly in this "higher" type of Soviet analysis, for understandable reasons.

#### IV. Eurocommunism from West to East

The very last paragraph of Santiago Carrillo's book weaves together three parts of an important political drama of our time—Western communism, the USSR, and Eastern Europe. Optimistically, Carrillo sketches a successful, even an esthetic, resolution. Earlier he had written that the events in Czechoslovakia were instrumental in bringing him and his party out of their primordial slumber. Now the currents may run in the other direction. Eurocommunism will arouse the east, and in so doing re-fortify socialism on a world scale.

How does this hope conform to existing political interactions? In Eastern Europe, three major forces are active that have no full parallel in the USSR; each dovetails with the Eurocommunist program: reformism, a non-dogmatic Marxist opposition, and nationalism. All are evident in Eastern European countries in varying degrees, except in Bulgaria. Two of them, nationalism and reformism, even exist as moods or tendencies within state and party structures as well as among the public; the third, a Marxist opposition that favors an alternative to bureaucratic, Soviet-modelled socialism, exists primarily as a movement among sections of the intelligentsia. By emphasizing national roads to socialism, Eurocommunists are natural allies of Eastern Europeans in their slow but irresistible journey to emancipation from the post-World War II Soviet presence.

Some of the more tolerant statements about the Eurocommunists from Soviet bloc leaders have come from the Hungarians. In December, 1976, Janos Kadar told reporters in Vienna that "Eurocommunism is not a new form of anti-communism." In Rome in June 1977, discussing the Eurocommunists' right to differ, Kadar commented, "This is not only their right, but also their duty. With or without the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a pluralistic or some other socialism, all I wish is that they open their peoples' road to socialism as quickly as possible." Later, during the controversy over the attack on Carrillo, a "senior official" was quoted in the Hungarian party daily as defending the obligation of the European parties "to select independently a path for the democratic transformation of their countries and for building a socialist society" on the basis of different conditions in each country.

These sentiments were countered by others blowing in the opposite direction: the same Hungarian daily was also cited by TASS for condemning Carrillo's anti-Sovietism. (The Hungarians have come a long way since 1956, owing to the Kadar leadership's adroitness on the tightrope in the shadow of Soviet power.)

The strongest proponents of an independent position in Eastern Europe, of

course, are the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians, who both make Moscow uneasy. Belgrade and Bucharest, it will be remembered, both welcomed Hua Kuo-feng the summer of 1978 as a pointed demonstration of their distance from Moscow. Both are also strong supporters of Eurocommunist nationalism. For both, however, the line of support stops at reforming internal structures, particularly the apparatus of suppressing dissent. At one point, the Yugoslavs even permitted themselves a sally at the Western parties when dissidence and suppression were common news stories about the Soviet bloc early in 1977. They condemned "all those who would force any system on another country, including some so-called Eurocommunists who would like to change the Soviet Union."

The place in Eastern Europe where the three elements of nationalism, reformism, and socialist dissidence converge most powerfully is Poland. There the historical nationalism, with its anti-Russian overtones is a byword. There too, reformist characteristics ranging from accommodation with the Catholic church and the property-owning peasant to a broad tolerance of diverse trends in matters of culture have gradually softened the regime's Stalinism. And the strength of a critical public opinion confronting the regime is periodically stiffened by the most striking symptom of all, the frequent eruptions of the Polish working class, as in 1956, 1970, and, most recently, the summer of 1976.

The link between rebellious workers and protesting intellectuals in Poland to bring pressure on the regime is unique in Eastern Europe and unheard of in the USSR. But it may be a portent of things to come in the entire block, with its chron-

## *The Euro-communist parties are moving away from the Soviet experience, but it's not easy to transcend their historical roots and traditions.*



Spanish Communist Santiago Carrillo

ic economic shortcomings and cultural and ideological restlessness. Since 1968, the most visible prolonged signs of unrest have consisted of waves of intellectual protest. One such wave crested in 1976-1977. In the USSR various civil libertarian groups were formed. In Czechoslovakia, Charter 77 appeared, drawing hundreds of signatures. In East Germany, the communist poet-singer, Wolf Biermann, and Rudolf Bahro, an industrial manager and theorist, angered the regime with their critiques. When the regime cracked down, a dissident group was formed calling itself "The German Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Socialism." Even in Rumania dissident intellectuals announced the first human rights appeal made in that country.

There were many immediate reasons for this wave of protest, apart from the chronic ones. Most prominent was the formal commitment to human rights by the Soviet bloc as embodied in the Helsinki accords of 1975, which also provided for periodic meetings between East and West

to review compliance. The dissidents used the accords as a wedge to open up the human rights question in their own countries. But it just so happens that this was also the period when Eurocommunist ideas, with their strong emphasis on democratic freedoms, were generating a great deal of interest throughout Europe.

A new kind of solidarity might be in the making. The Eurocommunists are embarrassed by oppression in the Soviet bloc. They are anxious to show that this does not belong in their definition of socialism. The socialist dissidents understand this and look for support from the Eurocommunists. They also understand that such support is difficult for the Soviet bloc to dismiss since it comes from their fraternal parties. Finally, there is a comradeship of ideas; many of the reform proposals coming from the dissidents tally with Eurocommunist conceptions. At the core of such ideas is emancipation from the Soviet model, of infusing socialist practice with democratic, mass participation in political rule and production systems.

How willing are the Eurocommunists to assist East bloc dissidents? The record so far is spotty. There are plenty of reasons to exercise caution. The Western parties have finally got over their reluctance to defend dissidents whose positions are ideologically repugnant. The defense of free opinion must be wholehearted and unqualified; it must be extended to a Solzhenitsyn as well as a Medvedev. (Certainly the dissidents have always understood this.) The consequence of silence on the left is that the moral initiative passes to Carter and Brzezinski. Now it seems an easy enough matter to open the protective umbrella over socialist dissidents. Yet it is socialist dissidence that the Soviet-bloc leaderships fear most. The matter quickly takes on an acute political complexion: will the Eurocommunists intensify what amounts to a political intervention in the germinating struggle between a socialist opposition and the bureaucracies?

Given the Western parties' determination to avoid a split with the Soviet-bloc regimes, with Moscow above all, it becomes exceedingly difficult to gauge how far this kind of support might be extended without serious provocation. Conversely, the problem also exists for the Soviet-bloc parties. How far can they tolerate the intervention of the Western parties without feeling threatened by it? What measures can they take, when threatened, short of provoking a split with their fraternal Western parties, something the Soviet-bloc wants to avoid?

The Western parties once defined themselves through their identification with the USSR. Now they are in the uncertain process of identifying themselves against the USSR. Is it too late for that—has the historic association with the USSR tainted the Western parties beyond political redemption? If there is a revival of democratic socialism in the West, it is the non-communist socialist groups that may gain most, leaving the communist parties wallowing with their pasts, teetering between Stalinism and their struggle to overcome it. The break-up of the French union of the left and the Giscardian victory in the spring of 1978, the strong showing of the Spanish socialists in elections of the same year, the continuing failure of the historic compromise in Italy to live up to expectations are all perhaps symptomatic of this outcome. Breaking with the Soviet myth removes an old ideological and emotional center of gravity that could leave the communist movement dangerously adrift.

But it can also release new energies and open up new possibilities. The internal renovation of the Western parties could be the prelude for the reunion of all elements in a European labor movement based on democratic socialism. The European socialist movement, once split by the Bolshevik Revolution, may yet be united, in part because of the wayward course of that revolution. In a peculiar and complex way, and certainly in a way never envisaged by the Bolsheviks who developed the idea in the first place, the road to socialism in Eastern and Western Europe still runs through Moscow.

**Louis Menashe teaches Russian history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and is a regular contributor to IN THESE TIMES on Soviet affairs.**



## LIFE IN THE U.S.



New Orleans members of United Labor Organizations demanded in March that the Sears personnel manager commit the company to hire people eligible for the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit.

## CETA and the hunt for jobs

By Richard Kazis

When 3000 members of AFSCME, the municipal employees' union, take to the streets—as happened in Philadelphia at the end of March—something big is at stake. In this case, it was 2600 jobs. The union—and the city—were afraid that, because of changes in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) as reauthorized by Congress for 1979, 2600 municipal employees in Philadelphia would lose their jobs on October 1.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young warned that if the October 1 deadline were not waived, Detroit would be forced to lay off 2787 CETA-paid city employees. Most worked in essential services, including 512 police officers, 204 members of the Fire Department, 310 garbage collectors and 29 percent of the recreation department staff.

Throughout spring, big city government and union officials pressured for an extension of the deadline, which had been set as part of a Congressional effort to focus CETA on the hard-core unemployed and to end the dependence of municipal governments on CETA to meet payrolls. The Department of Labor initially held firm; Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training Ernie Green told local CETA administrators several months ago that any city government that was waiting for extensions would be sorely disappointed. Even national AFSCME officials thought that the prospect for waivers was dim.

They all cited opposition from Capitol Hill, where funding decisions on CETA are made—and where the program is just a little more popular than welfare.

In early June, however, the Department of Labor issued proposed regulations on how cities could apply for waivers of the October 1 deadline for many of their CETAs. These waivers will allow cities to spread out, over the course of a year, lay offs of CETAs who had been on the municipal payrolls for over 18 months.

This comes as temporary relief for city governments hooked on CETA. These cities are now able to stall on a large number of lay offs. And they can cross their fingers and hope that an Urban Stimulus package is passed before the fiscal crunch is felt.

But the waivers do not change what Labor Department public relations staffers have dubbed "The New CETA."

The reorientation of CETA passed by Congress last fall lowered the maximum wage that can be paid to a CETA employee and mandated average wage rates of only \$7200 a year. Congress thus hoped to force municipal governments to provide employment opportunities for their unskilled, largely minority, economically disadvantaged residents—the structurally unemployed.

### "New CETA"

"The New CETA" would seem to hold some hope for the growing ranks of the hard-core unemployed. But the CETA program as it is currently funded and administered provides little opportunity for long-term employment and advancement.

In Detroit, for example, about 60,000 adults are on welfare and another 53,000 adults are considered economically disadvantaged. CETA funds in Detroit pay for about 2500 municipal jobs and another 1000 jobs in community-based organizations. The Detroit Manpower Department estimates that another 12,000 people will receive some level of training and supportive services under CETA during 1979 and that 3000 of these will find employment after their training. This means that, even if the city's plan is actually met, only 6 percent of Detroit's economically disadvantaged will receive employment with CETA's help.

The odds of a CETA worker finding a permanent unsubsidized job are not very good. In 1978, only 15 percent of Boston's CETA employees found jobs after their CETA positions ended.

### Private Sector

The federal government freely admits that CETA cannot end structural unemployment. The administration is fond of repeating that four out of every five new jobs are generated by the private sector.

Private industry has, however, a dismal record in providing jobs for the unemployed. Nonetheless, the "New CETA" depends on the private sector. In 1980, public service CETA jobs will be cut twenty percent. The Department of Labor claims that several new private sector programs will create enough jobs in industry to offset the loss of public jobs.

One of these programs is the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, which provides a tax break of up to \$3000 to employers who hire members from any of seven targeted disadvantaged groups. The Tax Credit is supposed to be a sweetener that encourages employers to create new jobs. Some

experts, however, like Gary Eiben of the National Alliance of Business, fear that employers will simply use the tax credit to replace on-the-job-training subsidies, and fire employees as soon as they have worked long enough to qualify employers for the full \$3000 credit. Eiben explained, "When I see the accountants being more interested in a program than the personnel people, I start to worry about how many jobs are actually going to be created."

The other major new program is the Private Sector Initiatives Program, a new Title VII add-on to the CETA legislation. This creates local Private Industry Councils (PICs), to secure jobs for the disadvantaged and to get the private sector involved "in all aspects of local employment and training activities." The PICs, which will be dominated in each locality

by mainline business groups such as the National Alliance of Business and the Chamber of Commerce, will have an awesome task. Gary Eiben thinks the \$400 million that was asked for program funding may not be enough incentive. For business, according to Eiben, it is "like leveraging with a toothpick."

People who have been through "the revolving door" doubt that the "New CETA" will be any different or that the private sector will suddenly begin to provide permanent, useful jobs and training opportunities. Dottie Thomas, in her thirties, lives in Boston's Mission Hill neighborhood and supports her five children on welfare. She has worked off-and-on at Sears and at nursing homes, but has been discouraged by low pay and poor benefits. She has registered for the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, which would pay an employer to give her on-the-job training. And, several months ago, she signed up for CETA. Today, she is still unable to find work.

Last year, Dottie Thomas went to Boston's St. Elizabeth Hospital with a group of other WIN recipients and asked the personnel office for a commitment to hire a certain number of WIN recipients for new openings. They were turned down. The group, Workers Association to Guarantee Employment (WAGE), part of the five-city *Jobs & Justice* organizing campaign (see side bar), then tried to negotiate a similar agreement with Eastern Airlines, which was opening a new reservations center in Boston. Again, the private sector was unwilling.

In March, Dottie and members of WAGE tried to get their certification for the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit so that employers would have an incentive to hire them. The bureaucracy was unprepared to handle the requests. Although the tax credit legislation had gone into effect on January 1, the program was still not off the ground.

A week later, Dottie and others like her in six cities followed the government's advice and went to the private sector again. They asked Sears, Roebuck Co., the largest retail employer in the country, to commit its stores to hiring a percentage of new employees from people eligible for the new Targeted Jobs Tax Credit. In Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and three other cities, Sears personnel officers said they just couldn't make such a commitment.

For the groups that constitute the secondary labor force—the pool of unskilled workers who depend on welfare, unemployment insurance, CETA and low-wage work to survive—the New CETA does not look so new. It merely looks like less.

## Unemployed organize

New interest now exists in organizing people in the secondary labor force to fight for jobs, training and income. One such effort, the *Jobs & Justice* campaign, was launched a year ago by several veterans of welfare rights and citizen action organizing. Now active in five cities—Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Detroit and New Orleans—*Jobs & Justice* draws together welfare recipients, unemployed youth, CETA and other temporary workers, unemployment insurance claimants, underemployed and low-wage workers.

In the past year, J & J groups—called Workers Association to Guarantee Employment (WAGE) in Boston and Providence and United Labor Organizations (ULO) in Detroit, Philadelphia and New Orleans—have won a number of victories around youth employment, CETA, welfare and jobs issues. These include:

- After 1000 Philadelphia teenagers demonstrated for more summer jobs last year, the city added \$2 million to the summer youth job program.
- In Boston and New Orleans, also last summer, layoffs of 2000 CETA workers were delayed several months as a result of WAGE and ULO pressure.
- In Providence, the recently remodeled Biltmore Hotel offered jobs to several older unemployed WAGE

members after the group demanded jobs from the hotel management.

- In Detroit ULO's Jobs Action Council won an agreement in November from General Motors Corporation to give first hiring priority on GM's "neighborhood revitalization program" to local residents.

- In Philadelphia over 100 unemployed workers won an agreement from Sun Oil Company and Radnor Corporation executives that ULO would be notified monthly of all jobs available, that three ULO members would be hired immediately as truck drivers, and that all contracts for work on Sun Oil's new downtown building would include a clause recommending the hiring of unemployed workers.

- In March, J & J groups in all five cities forced the government to speed up implementation of the new Targeted Jobs Tax Credit. When manpower officials said that they were not ready to begin certification for the program, WAGE and ULO members presented their own copies of the necessary forms, ready to be validated. The next week, the groups went to Sears, Roebuck Co. demanding that the firm make a commitment to hiring people eligible for the Tax Credit.

—Richard Kazis



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## BOOKS

# Oral history traces political roots of the women's movement

In civil rights and New Left organizing, women faced sexism but developed a stronger sense of self.

By Rosalya Baxandall

**PERSONAL POLITICS: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left**

By Sara Evans  
Knopf, \$8.95

This book makes exciting sense of the left and feminist movements of the 1960s. For anyone who participated in the anti-war, civil rights, welfare rights and women's liberation movements, there is a special treat of nostalgia and also of new insights.

Much of the book is based on interviews with participants. As you read the carefully written prose, many of the pieces of the recent political past fit into place, as though in a thoughtful collective conversation with participants (which in fact the book is part represents). *Personal Politics* heightens the understanding of events we lived through.

With an opening chapter on the 1950s and the situation of white women, Evans sets the stage for the contradictory and empowering experiences of young movement women in the 1960s. These were women whose mothers were often well-educated and full-time housewives, constrained by the dominant ideology of "the feminine mystique." The daughters of the '50s were raised on the promised fulfillment of domesticity, yet perceived the frustration of their mothers both inside the home as well as outside, if they worked for wages, at unchallenging and low paying jobs. Evans sets out to discover how a "few young women stepped outside the assumptions on which they had been raised to articulate a radical critique of women's position in American society."

Through the Southern civil rights movement and into the community organizing projects of SDS (called ERAP projects, for Economic Research and Action Project), Evans traces the conflictual situation of white women. On the one hand, they faced the sexism of men in liberation and equality movements. On the other hand, they experienced a growing sense of self, of political experience and maturity. This led white women activists to develop a feminist consciousness and to challenge the hierarchy and domination of political and personal issues in the New Left.

One of the most interesting subjects of the book is about the connection between racism and sexism in the South. Like the first women's rights movement of deeply rooted Quaker women that began the fight for the abolition of slavery, the women's liberation movement also began with Southern Christian white

women seeking racial equality and integration. Historically, women seem to have been more acutely aware of the barbarous effects of racism, perhaps because in America racism and sexism enmesh and intertwine. Miscegenation is more threatening than women working in the labor force or equal pay and the reasons have never been adequately explored.

Evans elucidates the fragile relations between black men, white women and black women as they attempted to build an integrated movement in the South. She particularly stresses the Christian religious backgrounds that brought white Southern women into the civil rights movement and the obstacles they faced because of their sex and race.

Her treatment of Southern Protestantism in the late '50s as the unintentional training ground for so many of the female participants of the civil rights movement (Sandra Cason, later Casey Hayden, Dorothy Dawson, later Dorothy Burlage, Mary King, Sue Thrasher and Jane Stembridge) is important and Sara Evans illustrates the progressive potentiality for human and just relationships embedded in the teachings of the Protestant church, particularly on Southern campuses, as students in the late '50s sought meaningful social action.

In the North, women were key organizers in community organizing projects. Their role models were often the strong black women of the Southern movements, people like Fanny Lou Hamer and Ella Baker. Although both men and women were organizers, women were strikingly more successful in every community, working with poor women around welfare rights, housing and schools in places like Newark, Chicago



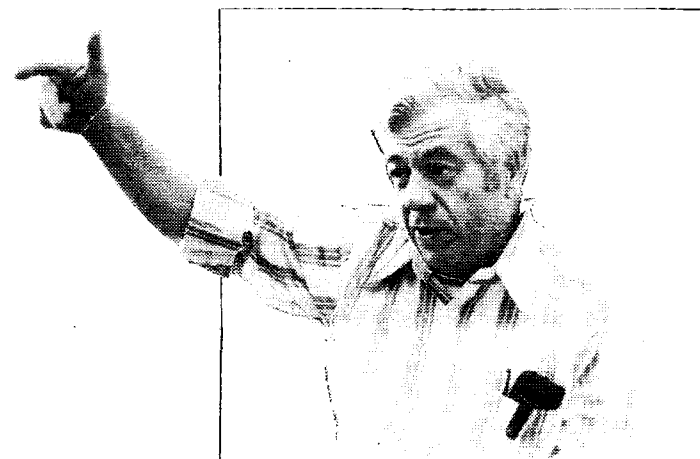
Many women participated in antiwar activity, as they had in civil rights work.

and Cleveland. It was here that women began to see their own strengths and develop them powerfully.

Yet men were still the formal leaders, in command, powerful, resistant and unrecognized of the successes and power of their female co-workers. The contradictions between those administering and expounding the theory and those most successful in practice became more and more sharply focused.

Sara Evans interviewed many people and presents a balanced and fascinating account of the sources of the current women's liberation movement. This is the only recent history, aside from *Feminist Revolution* by the Redstocking Collective, that presents women fighting against the outrages of capitalism as well as against their "own" mixed movements for a new world. The majority of the other serious historical treatments (*The Politics of Women's Liberation* by Jo Freeman is the best of these) deal with the growth of feminist institutions.

Evans captures the texture of everyday life and the nitty gritty development of a movement out of a concrete social experience. She has presented material and an interpretation that speaks for itself, with little theoretical elaboration, clarifying where we have come from, making us a little bit clearer to ourselves. ■



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## FICTION

## Fantasy speaks to itself

**A PERFECT VACUUM: Perfect Reviews of Nonexistent Books**  
By Stanislaw Lem  
Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich,  
\$8.95

By David Levitt

Stanislaw Lem is best known for his science fiction novels, including *Solaris*. Born in Lvov, Poland, in 1921, Lem spent the Nazi occupation as a garage mechanic, after which he became a physician. Lem is well-studied in a wide range of interests that include cybernetics, philosophy of science and literature. He has written, in addition to a shelf-full of science fiction novels, essays on Camus, Dostoyevsky, the man-nature game, and prospects for cosmic and biological engineering. Widely read, especially in Eastern Europe, he has been called a "cultural phenomenon unto himself" and has been acclaimed for raising science fiction to the standards of legitimate literature.

In *A Perfect Vacuum* Lem tries another form of fantasy: imaginary reviews of imaginary books. This literary form, used by such writers as Borges and Nabokov, totally immerses the reader in its dream-like world. There are 16 reviews in *A Perfect Vacuum*, of two types: those set in the present, which address Lem's literary concerns; and those set in the future, which address Lem's scientific concerns.

What holds them together is Lem's concern for the dehumanization of culture and civilization. However, no metaphoric structure serves as a framework for understanding. The only clue we have is given in the review of the book itself, when Lem writes: "It is simplicity itself: to shout out with laughter, what one dare not whisper in earnest."

If you have ever experienced impatience with literary critics who go on about little or nothing at all, then you will enjoy Lem's parody of the literary critical essay. The officious tone, as well as the overly scientific approach of criticism, abound in every one. In fact, the reader is so bludgeoned with the parody that he is not sure if it is a joke.

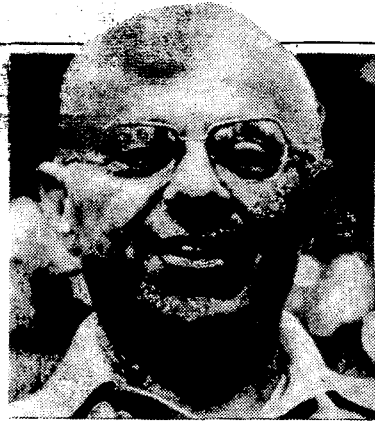
In his scientific reviews, Lem comments on the responsibility of science, and how scientific achievement has not always served the best interest of humanity.

The last two reviews, "Non Serviam" and "The New Cosmogony," are longer than the

others and illustrate the confusion of the book. "Non Serviam" describes the experiments of Professor Dobb in personetics, the science of the creation of personoids replete with emotions and personalities. The author, realizing that he has created beings with feelings, bemoans his god-like responsibility to the personoids, afraid of what will happen when he has to shut off the electricity running the experiment.

This is an excellent time to be commenting on the responsibility of science, but Lem's joking solipsism undermines interpretation.

The last review is "The New Cosmogony," the text of a speech



Stanislaw Lem

given to a Nobel prize assembly by Alfred Testa, the man responsible for the first breakthrough in physics since Einstein. The New Cosmogony, a philosophic fiction that helped Testa make his discovery, describes the Game of the Silent Universe. To qualify as players, worlds must achieve a certain level of understanding of

physics. The players do not communicate with each other, or with those worlds that haven't qualified yet. Players must make moves toward the stability of the Game. This review is rich with implications about the relationship between science and philosophy, about the relativistic universe, and can be seen as a parable for international competition. But again, the form confuses and detracts from the themes.

Borges wrote in a preface to his *A Book of Imaginary Beings*, a similar work of fantasy, "As we all know, there is a lazy pleasure in useless and out of the way erudition." There is a lazy pleasure in this latest of Lem's work. But his reviews are so way out in the world of fantasy that it is hard to grasp a reference point from which to apply Lem to our world. ■

## Real-life novels

**SWEET COUNTRY**  
By Caroline Richards  
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,  
\$9.95

By Martha Rosen

*Sweet Country* is a novel about the coup in Chile. It is about what happens to people after normal politics have been called off. No social choices and only one personal choice is left for its characters: to survive.

The book centers on a small group of friends who are confronted with the coup. There are two sisters, Maria and Eva Araya. Eva has worked for Senora Allende. There is also an expatriate American couple, Benjamin and Anna Willing. Eva is the book's central character.

She is no working class heroine; like everyone else in the novel (except the policeman who sexually blackmails her), she is of the class that formally prepares

for life while expecting to avoid the worst parts of it. As Eva thinks after her arrest, "I had read about such situations, but although I tried to recall what I had learned from Dostoevsky, say, or Anne Frank or Solzhenitsyn, I was left only with a vague impression of whining sirens and sinister, thick-walled buildings. I had not read, I realized ruefully, as if these authors were writing for me."

These people have marriages, children, adulteries and fears. The public and private arenas are united by their attempts to make all their choices morally and consciously. If anything, the moral choices presented by the political situation are simpler than those presented by private lives.

This is an old-fashioned novel in form. People start, they move to certain points and through certain changes, it ends. It is almost a chronicle. The book is old-

fashioned also in its sense of place and pride in place. Perhaps part of its attraction, in fact, is the love of the land it is possible for the Chileans to express. ■

**THE DAUGHTER**  
By Judith Chernaik  
Harper and Row, \$9.95.

By Lynn Garafola

With docudramas basking in the TV limelight, it was only a question of time before the staid houses of Publishers Row would follow suit. Harper and Row, erstwhile publisher of the respected Torchbook history series, has taken the lead with Judith Chernaik's *The Daughter*, a novel that turns Eleanor Marx into the ill-starred heroine of supermarket romance.

Pulp and politics never quite gel in this tale, which, the author advises, is "in no way intended as a literal reconstruction of real events." Chernaik devotes over 200 pages to dramatizing the life of Marx's youngest daughter from the fateful meeting with Edward Aveling, reputedly the

ugliest man in Europe, to her suicide by poison at age 43. Along the way, the reader is titillated with accounts of sexual perversity among Bohemian England's leading lights.

From time to time Chernaik drops sex to dip into Eleanor's political life, and just to show us the research she's done spends three pages listing occupancy rates of a poverty-stricken block in London.

Despite its title *The Daughter* barely scratches the surface of Eleanor's relationship with her illustrious parent (he's dead before the book begins), but focuses instead on Tussie's discovery of his affair with the devoted family factotum and a loving but self-effacing half-brother.

Chernaik's admiration for Eleanor notwithstanding, *The Daughter* has little to recommend it to Marx family fans or serious guzzlers of fiction. In fact, considering its content and the tastes of the supermarket book-buying public, the publishers would have done better to market it under the racier, and far more accurate, title of *The Mistress*. ■

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## TELEVISION

## Secret socialism on the small screen?

THE VIEW FROM SUNSET

BOULEVARD

By Ben Stein  
Basic Books, \$2.95

By Chris Johnson

Ben Stein used to write a column about popular culture for *The Wall Street Journal*, spent a year in Hollywood working for a television production team, and during that time interviewed forty producers and writers of television programs. The point of all his labors was nothing less than to discover how America is portrayed on television.

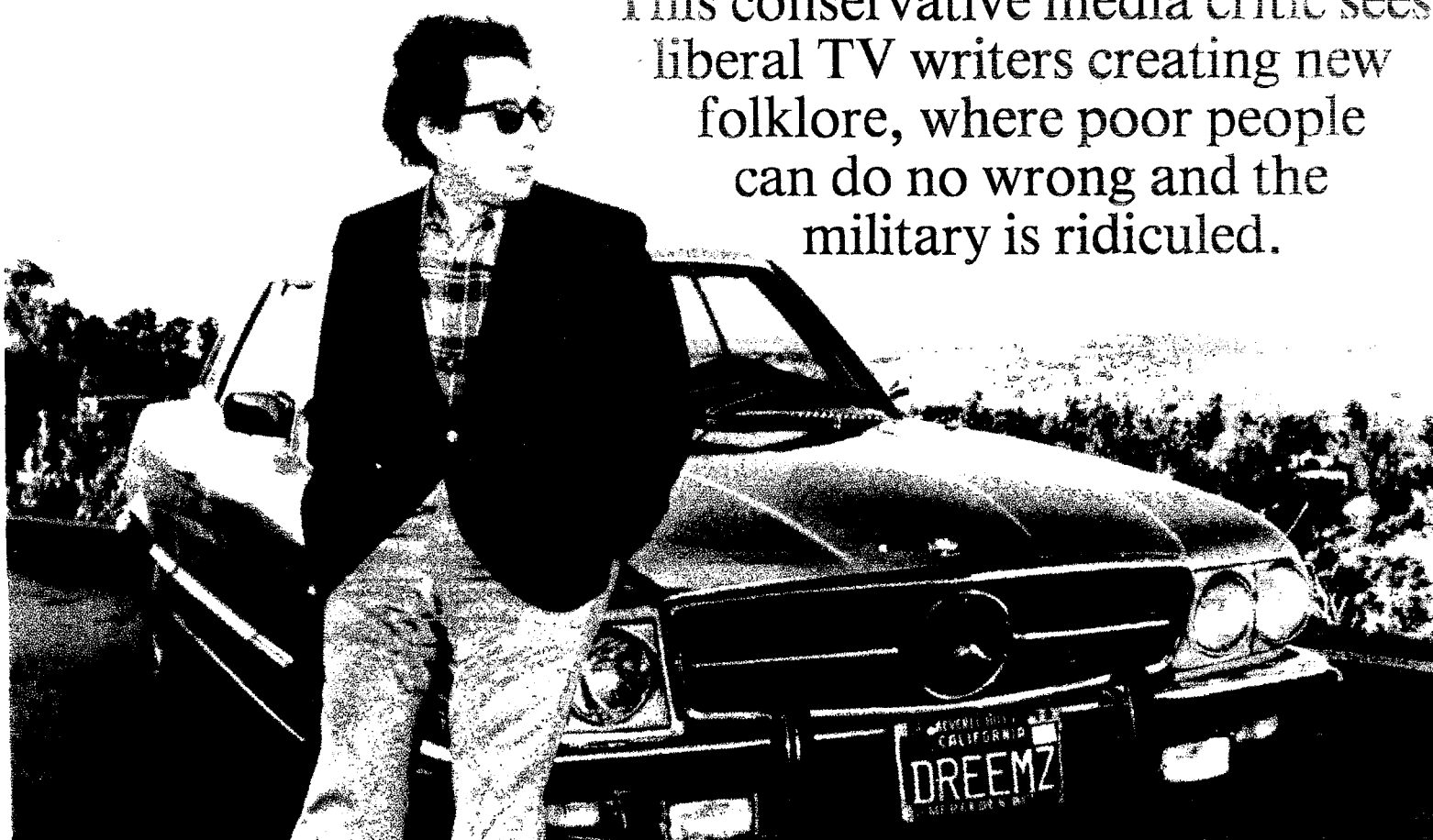
Mr. Stein has decided that the content of television is imbued with a decidedly pinkish tinge because of the "liberalism" of most writers and producers. He contends that those responsible for the bulk of television programs view businessmen as greedy reactionaries, heap scorn upon the military, and denigrate small town life. What's more, their "liberal" attitudes lead them to portray poor people as powerless and sympathetic victims and government bureaucrats as benign—if somewhat ineffective—public servants.

The author asserts that such stereotypes are not only inaccurate, but that they run counter to the political and social beliefs of the majority of American viewers. The result, he claims, has been the creation by TV writers and producers of "a new folk culture, energized by the most powerful media tool of all time, contending with the time-honored wisdom of the folk."

But writers and producers do not decide the political and social content of television; the people on whom the author has based his analysis are only high-priced craftsmen. The book is even more wrongheaded about the content of specific television programs. Stein claims, for instance, that he has "never seen a major crime committed by a poor, teenage, black, Mexican, or Puerto Rican youth on television." In a later chapter he writes that poor people on TV "do no wrong, are always heroes or victims, have great senses of humor, and are simply wonderful people."

Stein thinks television's attitude toward the military is

This conservative media critic sees liberal TV writers creating new folklore, where poor people can do no wrong and the military is ridiculed.



Ben Stein sees socialist messages lurking in TV scripts.

"quite negative" and cites four shows as evidence: *The Bionic Woman*, *The Six Million Dollar Man*, *Baa-Baa Black Sheep*, and *M.A.S.H.* In fact, he succeeds in proving precisely the opposite, for the first three of those programs are unabashed celebrations of the Pentagon mentality. Furthermore, in discussing *M.A.S.H.*, he offers that "the Army is represented by stiff, hypocritical

officers...who issue nonsensical orders." But as even an occasional viewer of *M.A.S.H.* knows, two of the most competent, humorous, and empathetic characters on the program have been Colonels Henry Blake and Sherman Potter.

Stein's confusion reaches a nadir when he attempts to explain the supposed liberalism of writers and producers by em-

ploying what he calls "Marxian analysis"—in spite of the fact that he is "far from being a Marxist." He posits that writers and producers form an "extremely energetic and militant class" that has recently "emerged into a position of power and influence." However, because they still remember their roots, they continue to sympathize with the poor and regard the wealthy with

contempt. Stein believes that a small coterie of privileged craftsmen comprise a "class" that is attempting to overthrow not only the powerful and wealthy, but the American way of life.

Early on, Mr. Stein informs us that he spent thousands of hours watching television in preparation for his column and this book. To watch, however, is not necessarily to see. ■

## No, but there's plenty of soap and sex

By Albert Auster

"Big business is not very efficient. It tends to rob people of creativity. It tends to stultify them...The big corporations like General Motors and International Business Machines are like dinosaurs. They will die out after my lifetime. We are inevitably moving toward socialism."

Is this Michael Harrington talking, or perhaps even Douglas Fraser? No. It's a statement from producer-writer Douglas Benton (*Policewomen*, *Ironsides*,

*Columbo*), and it's the reason conservative critics of the media like Edith Efron and Michael Novak are claiming that TV subverts capitalism. Recently they were joined in their attacks by journalist Ben Stein (see accompanying review).

Perhaps the best place to test the idea is CBS on Friday night. Indeed if any two shows can be conceived of as anti-business or anti-everything they are the CBS Friday night duo of *The Dukes of Hazzard* and *Dallas*.

*The Dukes of Hazzard* has the distinction of being labeled the trashiest show on TV even before it debuted. Critics who previewed it were repelled by its violent car chases, its hayseed version of *Starsky and Hutch*, and their jiggy Daisy Maeish cousin. Critical disdain hasn't hurt the show, though, and it has become a mid-season hit.

*The Dukes* is about a couple of white trash yahoos Luke and Bo Duke (Tom Wopat, John Schneider) and their confrontations with Hazzard counties Boss Hogg (Sorrell Brooke). Boss Hogg has just about everything (moonshining, hot cars, juke boxes) and everyone in Hazzard county sewn up (except of course the Dukes). Each week *The Dukes* combine to foil another nefarious Hogg plot, or just plague Hogg and his dumb side-kicks Sheriff Rosco (James Best) and deputy Enos Straight (Sonny Shroyer)—"the county's oldest virgin"—and then vroom off in a cloud of dust and exhaust.

Does this combination of *Lil' Abner* and *Smokey and the Ban-*

*dit* contain some sort of anti-establishment message? You might get that feeling, since government, business, and the police are tied up in one neatly corrupt package. However, Hazzard County is located somewhere south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, and as any American schooled in B-movies knows, that's where Sin City is located. It's not representative of the good ole U.S.A. In addition, Boss Hogg is strictly a caricature—riding around in his white cadillac in a white suit, he looks like he just O.D.'d on "Billy" beer.

*The Dukes* stand for the virtues of good ole 19th century individualism wrapped up in 20th century technology. What looks like beer-swilling anarchism is really packaged store Americanism.

The success of *The Dukes* has provided a marvelous lead in audience for *Dallas* and made it the eleventh ranked show in television. *Dallas* is prime time soap opera, and despite the fact that its King ranch type clan—the Ewings—have oil galore, the show gets most of its energy from sex.

For instance J.R. (Larry Hagman), the family's eldest son, suffers from an extreme case of Satyriasis, which will allow him to bed down anyone except his wife. As a result Sue Ellen (Linda Grey) has become an alcoholic and become pregnant with the child of J.R.'s arch-enemy Cliff Barnes (Ken Kercheval). J.R.'s younger brother Bobby (Patrick Duffy), disgusted with his role as a corporate pimp (official title P.R. man), has

married the sister of Cliff Barnes, who once had an affair with the Ewing family foreman, Ray Krebs (Steven Kanaly).

All of these sexual twists and turns make the show as difficult to sort out as a plate of pasta. The real joy in watching the show, however, is the weekly machinations of J.R. As played by Hagman (*I Dream of Jeanie*), J.R. is supposed to be the vulpine businessman first class. As a matter of fact he's the best prime time villain to come along since *Peyton Place* died and left us without that evil patriarch Martin Peyton (George McCready).

Unfortunately, Hagman's portrayal makes J.R. seem like some kind of capitalist golem for whom a perverse Igor stole the brain of Maxwell Smart instead of Jay Gould. And when he's caught bribing or blackmailing you almost expect him to let out with an insouciant, "Yoicks, foiled again."

Perhaps the best hope for the Stein thesis might have been a patriarch and matriarch who were up to no good. But Jock and Miss Ellie Ewing (Jim Davis, Barbara Bel Geddes) are the souls of integrity offering up corks like, "Mama don't like business talk with supper on the table, J.R." Rather than indict a class, *Dallas* merely reaffirms the fact that the rich have problems like you and me, and that a bad seed like J.R. is just part of one man's family.

These shows are more like a short circuit than the beginning of the long march through the tubes of our society. ■

Guindon



Guindon

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Beauty Tip: Don't do this.



# SPORTS AND THE STREET

By Mark Naison

*Howie Evans is one of the best known figures in New York's community sports scene. A sports columnist for the AMSTERDAM NEWS, New York's largest black newspaper, Evans has sponsored sports leagues and tournaments for city youth, and has counseled high school athletes. Evans has been a forceful critic of discrimination against blacks in sports and the media.*

*How did you get started in New York as a writer, a counselor and a coach?*

I had been a gang member and through my local community center I got involved in sports and eventually got a scholarship to college. The summer after my first year in college, I came back to work in the center and I enjoyed it so much that I came home from college on weekends to work with the neighborhood kids.

After I graduated I wanted to play professional basketball, but there weren't great opportunities for me. I played a couple of years in the Eastern League, but took a job with the Board of Education and became director of the Wagner Youth and Adult Center in East Harlem.

I had worked as a stringer for a Baltimore newspaper when I was in college, reporting on campus affairs, but I hadn't done anything since. Then around 1965, I became upset about the way the national press was attacking Wilt Chamberlain. I had competed against Wilt in intercity tournaments and in college and knew him pretty well, so I wrote a story about him. The *Amsterdam News*, New York's black newspaper, was the only paper that would print it. The story got a tremendous response.

Kids who saw my picture in the paper, and heard me interviewed on the radio or saw me on the tube during games began to come into the center to talk to me about careers in the media. And I was able to channel several of them into careers in journalism and broadcasting.

*When you began writing sports, did you have any models?*

Not really. There were almost no black sportswriters in the New York area. I was the first writer for the paper who would cover events on a local and national level from a black point of view, to get to know the top athletes, and the first one to become visible in the national press. I be-

came secretary-treasurer of the Football Writers of America and a member of the Basketball Writers Association.

*In sports like basketball and football, the players are predominantly black and announcers are overwhelmingly white.*

Announcers are the most insignificant part of a sporting event. Fans would do just as well if there was no sound and they just watched the games.

I don't think a fan cares what color an announcer is, unless he's bad, or exceptionally good. The networks feel that because a greater buying market exists among whites, they need a white face.

When a black sportscaster joins a network, he has to be on the money immediately. When Oscar Robertson began doing NBA broadcasts, he had to be good from the very beginning—there was no opportunity for him to grow. Frank Gifford, when he first came on television, was horrible—which he will admit today. But they gave him the opportunity to learn because he projected the image that television wanted—blue eyes, wavy hair, all-America, all-pro. It's the same with Rich Barry.

There is no recycling of black coaches in professional basketball. Willis Reed fails one time and he's out. Elgin Baylor fails once and he's gone. But you look around the league and you'll see they're talking about bringing Ed Badger back, and he's never won anything, in college or in the pros. Cotton Fitzsimmons is another example. He's been recycled around the league.

*Why have blacks excelled in basketball?*

In most of the communities where black people live, basketball is the only free recreational activity. You don't need anything but a basketball and a hoop. You see kids playing in shoes, sneakers, anything. In the South I've seen kids playing in their bare feet.

*New York City high schools have produced some of the best basketball players in the country for the last 40 years. How has the high school scene changed since you were growing up?*

Twenty-five years ago, coaches in high school like Jamie Moskowitz and Bill Spiegel didn't have a lot of black kids. They had mostly Jewish kids who had to be taught how to dribble because they didn't start playing basketball seriously until they got to junior high school, un-



Howie Evans

## Journalist Howie Evans talks to ITT about the role of sports in the black community.

til they were 13 or 14. These coaches were teachers; they taught kids how to dribble, they even taught some kids how to run. So in the eyes of people who grew up under these people, the level of coaching has deteriorated.

Kids today start playing from the time they are eight years old, and they are in leagues from eight years on up, so that by the time a kid is 14 and comes to high school, he knows how to do all the fundamental things that a coach had to teach 25 years ago.

*Are recruiting practices more unscrupulous than they were 20 years ago?*

Without a doubt. Off-hand, I could think of five kids who could ruin hundreds of lives just by talking about what was offered and accepted as part of their recruiting. A guy like Kareem Abdul Jabbar started to talk about how he was recruited, what he got out of UCLA, he could pull the rug out from under a lot of people. But we never have been able to get a youngster to do this.

Sociologist Harry Edwards has estimated that 70 to 80 percent of black athletes never earn their degrees. I think Edwards' figures are way out of line. If he's talking about people in professional basketball and football, then that is what he should say.

But what about scholarship athletes at the black colleges, where athletes go and graduate? Or black athletes at schools like Fordham and Middlebury? Or black athletes in the Ivy League? It's quite possible that 70 or 80 percent of black athletes at professional sports schools like Nebraska and Michigan don't get their degrees. I don't know. But not 70 or 80 percent of

black athletes as a whole. I can show you statistics for the kids from the community program that I work in, where the kids all graduate. They are not all great athletes and they don't go to UCLA and Notre Dame, but they get athletic scholarships and degrees. For every Fly Williams, I can find you ten guys who are from his neighborhood who went to college and graduated, and are now back on the street working with kids.

*Does the NCAA do enough to protect athletes at the "professional sports factories"?*

The NCAA is a profit-making organization. They have money in stocks. They invest in real estate. They're not going to come down on those schools that the networks decide must go on national television. Notre Dame, UCLA and Michigan are on TV three or four times a year and make millions of dollars for the NCAA.

*Some critics have suggested that college athletes in revenue-producing sports should be paid salaries.*

Before the advent of the American Football League and the American Basketball Association, some college players actually took cuts in salary when they went into professional sports. Big-time college athletes are professionals in everything but name. You turn on those television spotlights, you spend ten dollars to see a football game, \$2.00 to park, and a hot dog costs \$1.50. If that's not professional sports, I don't know what is.

Athletes should be paid, but how to do it is another question. Out at Oklahoma State, there was a big scandal where they raised something like \$3 million to pay the football players every month, and one of the boosters blew the whistle because some players made more money than others. I think it's time to take the money from under the table and put it on top.

*People like Harry Edwards and Arthur Ashe have argued that sports are over-emphasized in the black community. Do you think this criticism is valid?*

How did Dr. Edwards get to school? He went there on an athletic scholarship. And he's not alone. Rone Evans, a special assistant to the Manhattan borough president, got to college on a basketball scholarship. Franklin Thomas, who was just named president of the Ford Foundation, was a great scholarship athlete at Columbia University.

These people had no aspirations to become professional athletes; they used sports as vehicles to get themselves through school. And there are many other black guys I grew up with who followed the same route. If they hadn't won athletic scholarships, they would never have gone to college.

It's a harsh fact that most of the people who work on a day-to-day, week-to-week basis with inner city kids are people who have been involved in sports. Many of these programs use sports as an attraction to get the kids in and then rechannel them. People who say this is a bad method don't know very much about kids, about black ghettos and about poverty.

When people make this argument—and I hear it all the time from black lawyers, doctors and engineers and so forth—my one question to them is, "What are you doing? Where are you?" I know that during July and August, if I need a speaker to talk to a group of kids, the only person I can get to come is a black athlete and, in most cases, a black basketball player. I don't see any black doctors holding workouts like the athletes do, telling kids, "This is how you can become a doctor..." I don't see black lawyers holding seminars for kids explaining, "This is how we as a race of people can move forward through politics and the law..."

On weekends in the summertime, you'll find guys like Bob McCullough [a former Cincinnati Royal], Bobby Hunter, Ernie Lorch and me out on the street with these kids. But you'll find the black elite on Martha's Vineyard, Fire Island, the Hamptons and Pegleg Bay. Yet come Monday, they tell us that we're overemphasizing sports in the black community. And I say to them, "You come and make your contribution. This is my profession. I'm making a contribution in my profession."



Evans coached this team of ten and eleven year olds; now seven are in college.